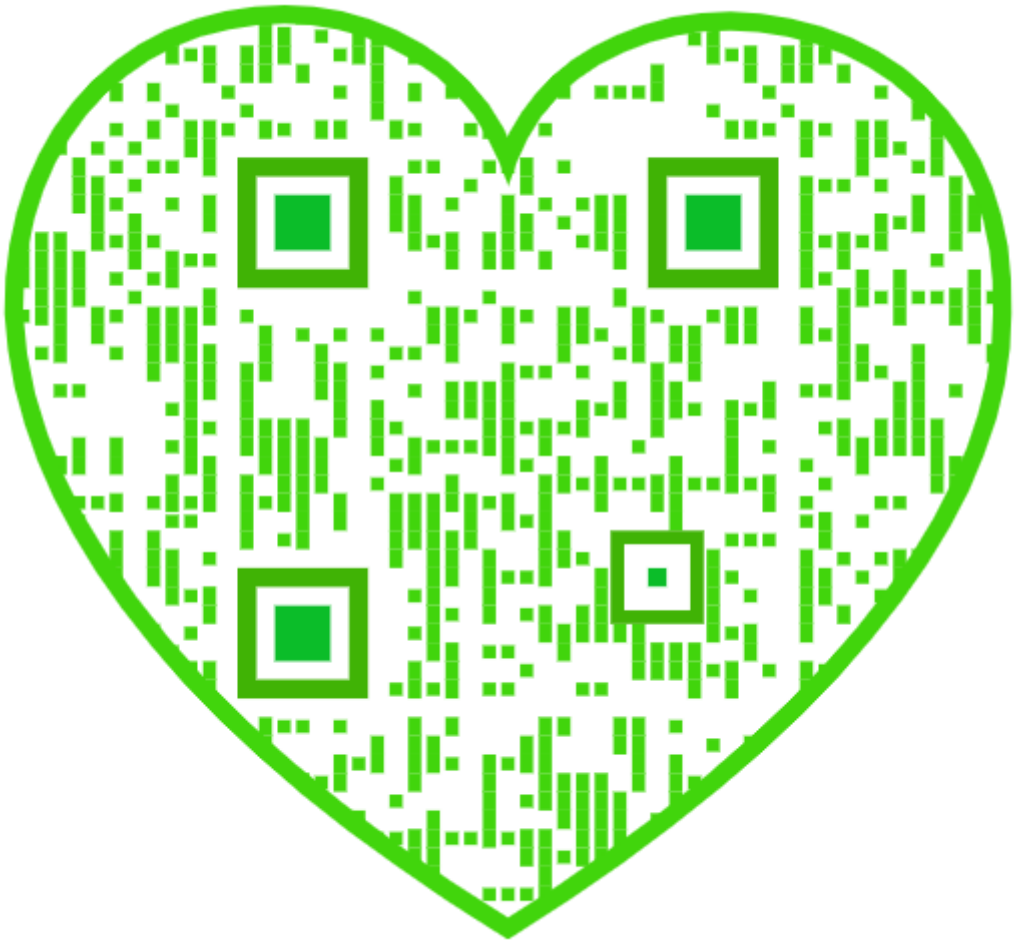
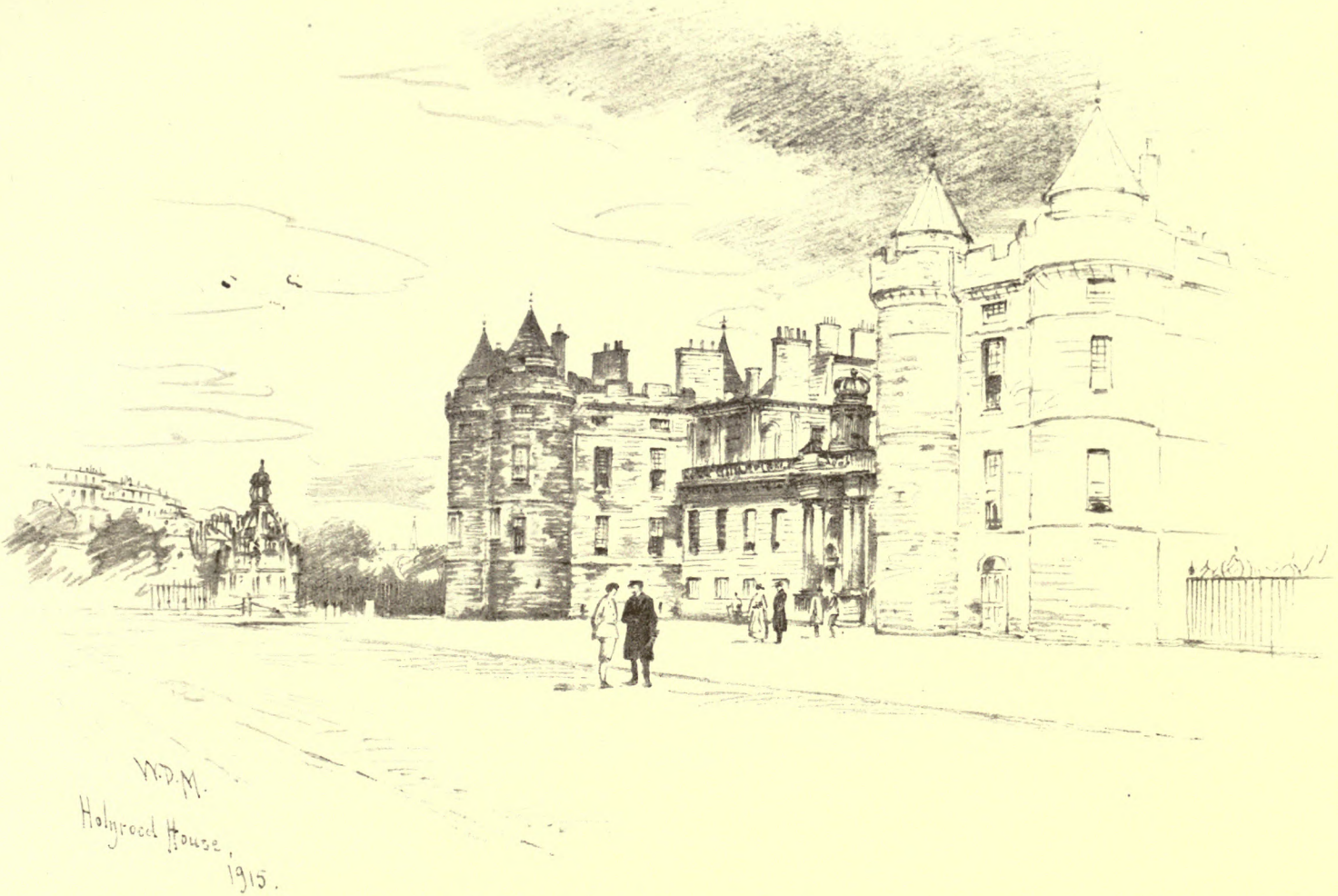


The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood

and of the

Palace of Holyrood House



THE FRONT OF HOLYROOD HOUSE.

The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood

and of the

Palace of Holyrood House

BY

JOHN HARRISON

C.B.E., LL.D., D.L., F.R.S.E.

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PREFACE.

THIS book had its beginning in a series of articles on the builders of the first Palace of Holyrood House, which were contributed to the 'Scotsman.' The subject interested me, so I extended my inquiries, and now attempt to tell the long history of Holyrood, first as Monastery and then as Palace. The thread of the story stretches through so many centuries that I may be excused if I have wrongly interpreted any of the periods which I touch on. The book was nearly completed when the Great War broke out in August 1914, and was laid aside, because other work claimed my thoughts and my time.

I have to thank many friends for encouragement and assistance. Especially I must express my indebtedness to the late Professor Hume Brown for wise counsel, and acknowledge that his 'History of Scotland' has supplied the historical framework of the book. I am also indebted for ready help given me by his successor in the Chair of Ancient History in the University of Edinburgh, Professor Hannay; and to Hew Morrison, LL.D., Librarian of the Edinburgh Public Library. My warm thanks are due to W. T. Oldrieve, H.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., formerly

H.M. Principal Architect for Scotland, who has a unique knowledge of the buildings of Holyrood; and to William Cowan, F.S.A.S., for placing at my service his wide and exact knowledge of the antiquities of the City of Edinburgh. I am also indebted to my lifelong friend, W. D. M'Kay, LL.D., Secretary to the Royal Scottish Academy, for his drawings of Holyrood House as it now stands.

I leave the book in the hands of those who are, as I am, lovers of "mine own romantic town."

JOHN HARRISON.

EDINBURGH, *August* 1919.

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HISTORY OF HOLYROOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE MONASTERY OF HOLYROOD.

THERE is no name which is so closely associated in the minds of Scotsmen with the national life of Scotland as is Holyrood: it seems to be so truly emblematic of the existence of Scotland as a separate nation, and of the passing of that life into the broader, fuller life of the United Kingdom. Holyrood House was the home of that strange family, the Stewarts, who, with all their failings, and notwithstanding all their mistakes, were yet a kingly race; whose personalities stand out distinctly from the background of the times in which they lived. There is a great fascination about the story of the lives they led; of their noble bearing; of the working of fate by which the early kings of this dynasty, one after another, met a violent death in early manhood, leaving to his successor while yet a child to take up the same struggle against an irresistible destiny. There is deep interest also in the attempt of the later kings, continued during a whole century, to rule Scotland in a manner repugnant to the strong bent of its people. Above all, there is linked to Holyrood for all time the name of the most brilliant

of the Stewarts, Queen Mary, who possessed in fullest measure those qualities which attract the interest of the multitude and have in them the making of tragedy. This is what the Palace of Holyrood House mainly recalls to the mind of the Scot of the present day. But behind this there are the traditions of the Monastery of Holyrood —the great Religious House which occupied this site for centuries before the Palace existed, and whose name the Palace inherited. To tell the story of this spot, full as it is of the memories of these long centuries, is in some measure to trace the history of Scotland, and to relate the process of her making.

One fact increases the prestige of Holyrood in the eyes of Scotsmen. Like Windsor Castle in England, Holyrood House in Scotland is the only Palace now used by our kings which has been for centuries a royal dwelling-place. In the sixteenth century the Scottish kings possessed besides Holyrood House, Linlithgow Palace, the Palace in Stirling Castle, the Palace in Edinburgh Castle, and Falkland, the much-loved hunting-seat beside the Lomond Hills. Linlithgow, where Mary Stewart was born, stands a noble ruin, impressive still, though untenanted; the Palace of Stirling —the place of refuge for our kings when times were stormiest—is used as barracks; the Palace on the Castle Rock of Edinburgh is a show-place given over to tourists; while Falkland has passed into private hands. Holyrood Palace, the latest founded of the royal houses, has outlived the rest, and remains a royal palace. Its history covers four centuries only; but as a dwelling-place important in the eyes of Scotland, the story is carried back until lost in the dim centuries whose history is myth, by the memories of the great religious house named after the Holy Rood.

The Abbey of Holyrood stood, as the Palace now stands, in the very midst of the old homeland of the Lowland Scot, the country in which the Scottish Reformation was nursed into life, from which sprang in later times Scottish philosophy and science and literature. It is the land between the hills and the sea on either side of the estuary of the river Forth. On its southern shore the Firth of Forth is marked by three great basaltic rocks. Near the entrance, right out of the sea, there springs the great impressive mass of the Bass Rock; farther west, retired from the sea two miles or more, the picturesque outline of the Castle Rock of Edinburgh; and at the head of the estuary, guarding the crossings of the river Forth, there rises the Rock of Stirling, around whose Castle so much of Scottish history has been enacted. The pilgrim Scot, homing from some distant land where he has found a dwelling-place, and searching for the places fullest of the traditions of his race, finds Holyrood Palace in the low country, immediately to the east of the Castle Rock of Edinburgh.

Holyrood can best be seen from the hill immediately to the south; from this vantage-ground there can be noted the symbols of its long history; the lawns and plots of flowers which suggest that it is a place of present habitation; the long plain front of the building of the later Stewart Palace, with the towers of the earlier house just showing beyond; and on the right, somewhat retired, the ruin of the old monastic church—all that remains of the Abbey which flourished here for centuries before the Palace came into existence.

From the view-point of the hillside, the peculiar nature of the site on which the Palace stands can best be noted; it is so different from that chosen for most of the great houses which have come down from the Middle Ages.

These almost without exception stand on a commanding eminence, or are protected by a river, so as to enable them to resist assault; even in a level country like East Lothian, a little rocky scarp was found on which to erect Dirleton Castle. But Holyrood stands without protection from attack; it is in a basin, and is dominated on every side by higher ground. The Palace lies at the foot of Arthur Seat —a mountain in miniature, whose steep grass slopes and abrupt crags overhang it on the south. Facing Arthur Seat on the north is the Calton Hill, which also falls steeply toward the Palace. On the west the ground ascends steadily until terminated by the great rock on which is built the Castle of Edinburgh; while even on the south-east, the spurs of Arthur Seat slope down on Holyrood. The outlet from this basin is on the north-east; and on this side there used to flow in the open toward the Firth of Forth two little streams, which are now hid from sight.

Why was this spot—in many ways unsuitable for a great house—chosen as the site for a palace? The answer is that the Palace came there as it were by accident, and that the original choice of site was not for a palace but for a religious house. What form the first religious dwelling took can only be guessed at: far back in those centuries of which in Scotland so few records remain, it appears that some religious man or community built here a humble church, seeking possibly the protection of the marshes which then intersected this hollow. This little Celtic church drew to it the veneration of the people of the Lothians, and so it came to pass that when the twelfth century arrived, and Scotland was establishing the great monastic orders in the country, King David I., pious according to the manner of the time, built on the site of the old Celtic church his great Monastery, dedicated to the Holy Cross, the Virgin Mary,

and All Saints, which afterwards bore the name of Holy Rood. King David was a great builder, and it was his custom to secure for his new religious houses the sanctity which had gathered round the old shrines. Then the centuries went on, and the sixteenth was just begun when King James IV., the most gallant of the Stewarts, but with a great share of the superstitions of the time, having chosen a wife and desiring to build for her a home near his capital, sought the protection of Mother Church by raising his new palace in immediate touch with the Monastery of the Holy Cross. This is in all likelihood the train of events which led to the Palace of Holyrood House being founded here.

There have stood, therefore, on this site in this hollow below Arthur Seat, to the east of the old walled town of Edinburgh, three successive buildings, dear to the Scot: first, the primitive Celtic church; then King David's great monastery, founded about 1128; and now the Palace, begun in the early years of the sixteenth century,—the home of the Stewart kings. The reader who loves sober history will find much of interest in the authentic story of the centuries, while he who prefers legend and myth has full scope for weaving tales to fill in the many blanks which occur in the Chronicles of Holyrood.

Of the Celtic Church which seems to have begun the story of Holyrood, there is little to tell—the light of history scarcely penetrates into Scotland during the three or four centuries which followed the time of St Cuthbert and his brother missionaries. All that can be definitely stated is that within the area of the ruined choir of King David's Abbey Church there were discovered, when it was recently excavated, the foundations

of what appears to be an earlier church. These foundations form an oblong, 45 feet by 22, built of unhewn stones; they are strictly orientated, and around them, mostly to the south, is an ancient graveyard, in which were unearthed about thirty skeletons, all buried without coffins, as was the custom of the early centuries.[1] These foundations can be seen; the rest is conjecture. Each for himself must rebuild the little church, after the similitude of one of the early Christian churches which remain; and should the pilgrim have senses sufficiently finely tuned, he may perhaps hear the voice of praise and prayer which must surely float around a spot so long hallowed to the worship of God.

Even of the great monastery which David I. founded and which flourished for four centuries, our knowledge is strangely scanty. The most reliable information regarding the early centuries of its existence is gathered from the charters, which give some facts, mostly referring to the landed possessions of the monastery; then, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the National Accounts throw some light; there is further the fragment of a Chronicon, but it is singularly valueless; in the early Scottish Chronicles there occur detached references to the Abbey more or less believable, and the records of the Vatican yield some information. The modern writer of history is at a disadvantage in comparison with the old monkish chronicler when he sang the fame of his Abbey: he is not permitted to imagine miracles to account for difficulties. Of course, at the best, the work of the chronicler of the events of these far-off times resembles somewhat that of the maker of mosaic pavement: he finds recorded a number of detached facts, as

[1] See Book of Old Edinburgh Club, vol. iv. p. 191.

the paver gets chips of black and white marble; he forms a smooth surface by using his imagination and his knowledge of human nature, as the layer of pavement uses cement. The better the story-teller knows men and women, the likelier his story is to be true.

There seems no doubt, however, that King David I. resolved to build this abbey about the year 1128, and that he chose to place in it monks belonging to the Order of the Canons Regular of the Rule of St Augustine,—a body known as Austin or Black Canons; this colony he probably brought from the Scottish Augustinian Monastery at Scone. David I. was the son of Queen Margaret, one of the most beautiful characters which adorn the story of Scotland; David was the third brother who succeeded to the Scottish throne; in his younger days he had lived in England, enjoying the great estates of the Earldom of Huntingdon. As king he carried on the work which his saintly mother had begun,—the bringing of the old Scottish Church into line with the Church of Rome. His special mission was the establishing in Scotland of the great monastic orders which were then coming into power in Europe. David built and endowed most of the great Scottish monasteries whose ruins remain; in many cases he took possession of old religious foundations, rebuilt church and dwelling-places, and moulded the community to the new order of things. There is a tradition, probably untrue, that the King gathered his new religious community of the Holy Rood in the Castle of Edinburgh and afterwards transferred it to this site below Arthur Seat. But what interests the modern reader in the story of the foundation is the delightful old monkish legend regarding its inception: it is sad that it is impossible to name the old monk who had the poetic

inspiration to invent the story of the birth of Holyrood Abbey.[1]

It was the 14th September, the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross, and King David was holding his Court in the Castle of Edinburgh. Like the pious man he was, the King had heard early mass in the great church of the Castle, "with solemnity and reverence," when "mony young and insolent baronis of Scotland" came to him and urged that they should go a-hunting; the king's confessor, the pious and learned Alkwine, begged that so holy a day should be given entirely to contemplation. David, as so many of us do unto this very day, yielded to the voice of the tempter, and went forth with his hounds. Now, it must be remembered that there then stretched all round on every side the Castle Rock of Edinburgh, the forest of Drumselch, and that it was full of "hartis, hyndis, toddis (foxes), and siclike maner of beistis." The great hunting party passed from the Castle down to the east, "with sic noyis and dyn of rachis and bugillis, that all the bestis wer raisit fra their dennys." When the hunters came below Salisbury Crags, the king found himself separated from his courtiers in the thick forest, and then there broke on him the fairest hart that ever the eyes of man beheld. The king's horse started and fled, but the hart charged and threw horse and rider to the ground. The king, half stunned, raised his arm to shield himself from the thrust of the stag's horns, when his hand clutched not the horns, but a portion of the true cross. When David came to himself, the "fairest hart" had vanished; the shouts of the hunters had died away; no noise broke the silence of the forest save the soft sound of the water of the Rude Well falling into its

[1] Charters of Holyrood (Bannatyne Club), p. xii.

basin. The King returned to the Castle, and was charged by his good confessor to found a great religious house in honour of the "Holy Cross, the Virgin Mary, and All Saints," on the spot where the piece of the true cross had been placed in his hand. So the site was chosen; and so, too, the seal of the monastery and the arms of its burgh town, the Canongate, bore the stag's head with a cross between its horns. Is it not cruel that to the men of our time there is denied the power of believing a beautiful old legend like this, while there are so many of the dark stories about Holyrood which they are forced to credit?

King David, having founded his new Abbey, naturally made his confessor, Alkwine, its first abbot. About 1143, David gave his Abbey its great Charter of Confirmation, from which much information regarding the lands with which the King endowed the Abbey has been gathered. The charter in itself is a beautiful specimen of early Scottish penmanship on vellum, and is safe in the Charter-room of the city of Edinburgh. Alkwine seems to have held the abbacy until 1150, and when he passed away, "by common acclamation of the whole people he is voted to be enrolled in the catalogue of saints, and an altar was erected over his body."[1] David's own epitaph is neatly put by one of the old historians: "He was a meek king, a righteous king, a chaste king, a lowly king."[2]

Shortly after David's death, the abbey received a great addition to its endowments, when in 1160 Fergus, Prince of Galloway, withdrew from the world "and donned the canon's garb at the Holy Rood of Edinburgh."[3] Fergus bestowed on the Abbey valuable estates in Galloway. A

[1] Charters, p. xix. [2] Fordun's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 228.
[3] Ibid., p. xxi.

few years later, it is recorded that Vivian, who had come as legate from the Pope, held a solemn council in the Abbey of Holyrood; and again the Monastery was used for a national purpose when, in 1189, the prelates and nobles of the whole kingdom assembled "and undertook to pay off the whole sum of money which the King —William the Lion—had agreed on for his honours and the freedom of his kingdom, with the King of England."[1]

So the Monastery grew in wealth, and came to occupy a foremost place in Scotland. In the following century it is recorded that during the time of Helias as abbot, the drainage of the Monastery was giving trouble, as it has often done since, and that the abbot reconstructed the drains and made the Monastery a healthier house.[2] These were the peaceful centuries, "whose annals are dull." When the thirteenth century was near its close, the great struggle with England, which was to last for three hundred years, broke on the country. The War of Independence brought tribulation to Holyrood, as to Scotland as a whole. Edward I. entered Scotland with a powerful army in 1291, and Adam, the Abbot of Holyrood, did homage to the English King, which he renewed in 1296. Adam seems to have been employed by the English King to put the Scottish National Records in order preparatory to their being carried off altogether.[3] The abbot who succeeded Adam took the National side and retired to France to escape the English invaders, returning to Scotland after the battle of Bannockburn. In 1322 Edward II. of England—the weak son of a very strong father—invaded Scotland

[1] Fordun's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 247.

[2] Charters, p. xxiv.

[3] Ibid., p. xxv.

and got as far north as Edinburgh; "he sacked and plundered the monasteries of Holyrood in Edinburgh and of Melrose, and brought them to great desolation."[1] The name of Robert the Bruce, the conqueror of Edward at Bannockburn, is connected with Holyrood after he had won the Scottish throne. In 1326, he is stated to have held a Parliament in the Monastery. It was probably only a council of nobles, for during this year a National Assembly was held at Cambuskenneth Abbey, important in the political history of Scotland as being the first at which a representation of the Commons attended. There were not likely to be two National Assemblies in the same year. During the year in which Bruce died, there are two grants from the Scottish Exchequer for Holyrood: one for kitchen utensils, and the other for wine;[2] from which it may be inferred that the Court had taken up its abode in the Abbey. If this be so, Robert the Bruce was the first King of Scotland who lived at Holyrood. The great King left as his successor a boy of eight, David II., who did not inherit the splendid qualities of his father. In his reign a great disaster befell Holyrood Abbey. The most highly prized of all the "relics" which added sanctity to this religious house in those days, was the Black Rood of Scotland—a piece of the true cross, which the mother of the founder, the saintly Margaret, had brought to Scotland. In 1346 the young King led an army against England and penetrated as far as Durham; he took with him to ensure certain victory the Black Rood of Scotland. At Durham he encountered the men of the northern counties of England, and they were supported by the Prior of Durham,

[1] Fordun's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 342.

[2] Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 202, 224.

who brought from his great minster the holiest of its relics —"the corporax cloath, wherewith Saint Cuthbert did cover the chalice when he used to say Mess."[1] Whether it was the superior virtue of the Durham relic, or the greater power of the clothyard shafts of the English bowmen, it is impossible now to say—but at any rate the Scottish army suffered a grievous defeat; the Scottish King and many of his nobles were made prisoners, and the Black Rood of Scotland was taken and sent to add to the number of holy relics which hallowed St Cuthbert's glorious church above the river Wear. As a further consequence of the defeat of the Scots at Durham, a Parliament was held in the Monastery in 1366,[2] to arrange for a voluntary assessment on the land of the country to pay off the ransom which David had incurred to the English King. In 1370, when the King "on the Feast of St Peter's Chair died at Edinburgh Castle, he was buried in the monastery of Holyrood,"—as another authority states, "before the High Altar."

David was succeeded by his nephew, Robert, the High Steward, the first of a family who were to fill the Scottish throne for more than three centuries, and whose family name of Stewart is so intimately connected with Holyrood. In 1373, Robert was in residence in the Monastery, "ad Pascam";[3] and again in 1376, as the Exchequer Rolls show, the Abbot was recouped for his expenses in entertaining the King.[4] But the most important visitor at this time to the Monastery was one whom Shakespeare has made famous, "John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster." The Duke of Lancaster found it convenient in 1381 to leave England for a time, so he

[1] Charters, p. xxvii.
[2] Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii., lxviii.
[3] Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii., lxviii.
[4] Ibid., p. 418.

came north to Scotland. As a near relative of the English King, and one of the most powerful of the English nobles, he was received as the guest of the Scottish nation and lodged in the Abbey of Holyrood. Lancaster's visit must have extended over a considerable time, as the Exchequer disbursed £597, 14s. 9d. for his expenses—a large sum in those days.[1] When he left, the Scottish Lords accompanied him to Berwick with 800 spears and there said farewell. The hospitality shown to John of Gaunt by Holyrood Abbey was repaid in a very short time, for when in 1385 the English King, Richard II., crossed the Border and ravaged the South of Scotland, he spared the Abbey. "Also he brunt Edinburgh and the Kirk of St Geil, but the Abbey was savit by the Duke of Longcastle (Lancaster), for he was lugit in it afore."[2] When the fifteenth century begins, the connection of the Scottish kings with the Abbey of Holyrood becomes even closer; it was the Stewarts who made Edinburgh their capital city, and they found the Abbey a convenient and luxurious place of abode in the immediate neighbourhood. The second of the Stewart kings, Robert III., was in residence in the Abbey for considerable periods between 1401 and 1403, as the Exchequer Rolls show; and when his son returned from his long captivity in England in 1424, and ascended the Scottish throne as James I., Holyrood Abbey seems to have become one of the houses in which the Royal Family regularly resided. In 1427, "the Lord of the Isles comes disguisit in poor array and fell down on knee before the King at Holyrood house on Pasche-day, when he was sitting at his orison, and desirit grace for His sake that ras on that day fra

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. p. 81.
[2] Bellenden's Hist., vol. ii. p. 459.

death."[1] The Lord of the Isles had been in arms against the King, but had been defeated and his party broken up, and he in this way threw himself on the King's mercy. Next year, an event happened which cemented more firmly the tie binding the Royal Family to Holyrood—the Queen gave birth in the Abbey to twin sons,[2] one of whom succeeded to the throne as James II. Born in the Abbey, the second James was associated with the Monastery in the most important events of his life. James I., his father, had been crowned at Scone, but when he was murdered in Perth, in 1437, the nobles crowned his young son in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. Twelve years later, James's marriage with Mary of Gueldres was celebrated with becoming pomp in the Church of Holyrood, and the young couple seem to have made the Monastery one of their regular places of abode. In 1449, the year of the marriage, there is in the Exchequer Rolls an entry for timber, iron, &c., "ad fabricam regis" in Holyrood Abbey;[3] on the same page there occur entries for repairs in the royal houses at Stirling, Linlithgow, and Falkland; and a few years later, a charge occurs "for malt to be brewed for the King at Holyrood." The contemporary writers give the impression that the second James was a capable man, and one of the most sensible of the Stewart kings, but the country did not long enjoy his rule. He is spoken of in the old Chronicles as "James with the fire in his face," from a red birth-mark on his cheek. James was killed in 1460, in his thirtieth year, by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, which he was endeavouring to take from the English, and his young widow buried her lord in front of the high

[1] Bellenden, vol. ii. p. 500. [2] Charters, p. xlix.
[3] Exchequer Rolls, vol. v. p. 346.

altar of the Abbey Church. Thus James II. was born in the Monastery of Holyrood; in its church he was crowned and married; and in it he was buried. The National Accounts tell that a monument was raised to him in the Abbey Church in 1466.[1]

James II.'s unfortunate death at Roxburgh left the throne to his son, a boy of only seven, who turned out neither a wise nor a successful king; he kept up the close connection with Holyrood. The King was married in the Abbey Church to Margaret of Norway in 1469, and during his reign the National Accounts contain entries which show that the Court continued to use Holyrood as a place of residence. There is an item in 1469 for straw for beds for the King in the Abbey;[2] and in 1473, a quaint entry—"Item 3rd November, to ane glaswright in the Abbey for a window to the Queinis chalmire,"[3] which seems to point to the Royal Family having regular apartments in the Monastery. James III. lived at dispeace with his subjects during the later years of his life, and in 1488 they broke out in rebellion. A battle resulted at Sauchie, near Stirling, in which the King's party was worsted. The King fled from the field, and was found murdered in a cottage near the battlefield; his son succeeded under the title of James IV.

James IV. was of mature age, as Stewart kings went, when he ascended the throne—he was sixteen; his father and grandfather were neither of them seven years of age when they were crowned. The new King developed into a very typical monarch of his time—a knight-errant and noble cavalier. He delighted in gorgeous dress, in noble horses, in martial display; he was a patron of art, a builder of

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 422. [2] Ibid., vol. vii. p. 615.
[3] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. p. 41.

palaces, of churches, and of ships; his morals were not severe, but he was superstitious and roamed Scotland in search of shrines. He was constantly in motion, ever seeking some new distraction. To one thing he was constant—to his love for Holyrood; and it was he who certainly built the first palace at Holyrood, although it may not be easy to point to any particular fragment of wall belonging to the present Palace and say that it is the undoubted work of the fourth James. The National Accounts show that he was residing in the Monastery the year after his accession, 1489. Two years after he observed "Skyre Thursday" (Maundy Thursday) at the Abbey, and according to the years of his age—eighteen—presented grey gowns and pairs of shoes, platters and cups, and eighteen pence each to eighteen old men.[1] This being the manner in which a King of Scotland was bound to observe the day. It will be afterwards told how James's granddaughter, Mary Stewart, celebrated Maundy Thursday in Holyrood. James spent Yule of 1494 at the Abbey, and next year there is an entry in the Accounts for a "great scarlet bonnet to the King at Holyrood." In 1496 we find an entry on 14th June for "the King's soul-mess"—a mass for the repose of his father's soul; and also for masses on 14th September—"Rude-Day," the anniversary of the Foundation of the Abbey.[2] In 1498, the charge in the Treasurer's Accounts is for "the King's cupboard taken to the Castle," which probably means that the King had been residing at Holyrood, and when he left, his silver plate was sent for safety to the Castle. It was in this year that the King seems to have made up his mind to marry, and to build a palace near his capital for his bride. James chose as a site the ground within the precincts of the Monastery of Holyrood, immediately to the west of the

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. p. 132. [2] Ibid., pp. 278, 296.

Abbey. On this site he began building in the year 1500, and the Palace was ready for her reception when, three years later, he brought to it his bride, Margaret Tudor, daughter of King Henry VII. of England. Henceforward the annals of the Abbey and of the Palace are linked together.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE OF THE MONASTERY.

When the facts related in the previous chapter regarding the history of this great Monastery are considered, the point which is most striking is that they seem to refer to the castle and estate of a great noble rather than to the home of a religious corporation. The records of Holyrood are really more meagre than those of some other Scottish monasteries—Melrose and Newbattle, for instance —which do really give in some measure such information as we desire to possess. The reader naturally wishes to learn something regarding the lives the monks lived; how they performed their religious duties; the books they read and the books they wrote; the manner in which they administered the great estates of the Monastery; the example they showed to the people of Scotland. Regarding all such matters there is but little information as far as Holyrood Abbey is concerned. On one matter only can anything approaching full knowledge be found. The Charters of Holyrood, preserved in various charter-rooms, tell of the property of the Abbey; and these Charters have been preserved, because they form the titles on which these lands are held by their present owners. The wealth of the Monastery was drawn from two sources — landed estates granted to it by pious donors, chief among whom were

its founder, David I., and Fergus of Galloway; and secondly, the teinds of parish churches also gifted to the Monastery by the religious, mostly in the twelfth century, when the passion for founding monasteries was at its height.

The landed estates of the Monastery of the Holy Rood were very extensive. They included the land all round Edinburgh — north to the Firth, west to Sauchton Hall, and south to Craigmillar Castle; the Charter of Foundation also granted power to the Monastery to found the burgh of Canongate. In East Lothian the Abbey's possessions included the country round Preston, Tranent, Bolton, and Whitekirk. In West Lothian and Stirlingshire the Abbey held the Carse of Falkirk, Livingston, and Bathgate.[1] Then, secondly, there is the wealth drawn from the teinds of the Churches dependent on the Abbey. The parish Churches "under Holyrood Abbey" were scattered all over the South and West of Scotland; at the lowest computation there were twenty-seven parishes whose teinds went to the Monastery of Holyrood.[2] These were principally in three groups. The first included a considerable number of the parishes in the rich country lying to the south of the estuary of the Forth, from Bolton on the east to Airth on the west; this section was largely the gift of the pious founder, David I. Then came the Galloway parishes, conferred by the Princes of Galloway, including such well-known names as Kirkcudbright and Anwoth. Thirdly, there were the Churches of the Western Isles—Colonsay and Oronsay, which probably were also bestowed by the Princes of Galloway. Besides, there were detached parishes, such as Kinghorn, the gifts possibly of individual

[1] Charters, Preface, p. xlv.

[2] Dowden's Mediæval Church in Scotland, p. 214.

donors. These teinds were derived from the properties which had been bestowed on the Scottish Parish Churches in the early Christian centuries—the sixth to the eleventh —for the maintenance of worship. During the twelfth century, with its passion for the monastic life, everything was sacrificed for the sake of the great religious corporations which ruled the monasteries, of which Holyrood was one.[1] And so the landowners of the time, wishing to make quite sure of the salvation of their souls, and having given as much of their land and forests and fishings as they thought they could well spare, bestowed in addition on the fashionable religious enterprises of the time, the Monasteries, what certainly were not theirs to give—the teinds of the parishes within their territories. The Monasteries undertook, of course, to carry on the cure of souls in the parishes whose teinds they were receiving. The history of the Scottish Church down to the Reformation tells how the Monasteries as a whole performed this duty. "The little village church, preserving the memory of some early teacher of the faith, was left in the hands of a stipendiary vicar, an underling of the great Monastery, ground down to the lowest stipend which would support life, whose little soul was buried in his cloister, or showed its living activity only in disputing about his needful support with his masters of the Abbey, while his 'hungry sheep looked up and were not fed.'"[2] How could it be otherwise? The heads of the great monasteries, such as Archibald Crawford, Abbot of Holyrood, were peers of Parliament, ranking with earls; their ability and education, and the wealth they could command, gave them great political influence; like Crawford, they frequently acted as Treasurer of the Kingdom,

[1] Dowden's Mediæval Church in Scotland, pp. 113-115.

[2] Cosmo Innes's Early Scotch History, p. 19.

or represented Scotland at foreign courts. What chance was there that Abbot Crawford could give time and thought to the spiritual wants of Oronsay and Colonsay, those "lone islands of the Western Sea"; or even to Balmaghie and Tongland, which, though on the mainland, were in the wilds of far-off Galloway? As far as this Monastery of the Holy Cross is concerned, the outcome of this system is on record in the minutes of the Synod of Lothian for 1569, only nine years after the Reformation, so that there had not been time for the Reformers to ruin the church buildings, for which they often get the blame. The lay Abbot of Holyrood is indicted before the Synod of Lothian, because "all the said Kirks for the most parts, wherein Christ's evangel may be preached, are decaying and made some sheepfolds and some so ruinous that none dare venture into them for fear of falling."[1] Abbot Adam Bothwell replied quite truly that the ruin of the parish churches under Holyrood was not of his doing, but was the result of the neglect of past generations of abbots.

"The revenue of Holyrood as given up at the period of the Reformation amounted only to £2926, 8s. 6d. in money and 116 chalders of victual."[2] The possessions of the Monastery very possibly had suffered dilapidation during the latter centuries of its existence, for during this period the great churchmen had largely forgotten the difference between "meum and tuum," and alienated Church lands for the benefit of their children and kinsfolk. It is impossible to estimate the buying power of this income in the sixteenth century, but it may be noted that the Scottish Church held a very large proportion of the land of Scotland, and that the wealthiest of the Scottish monas-

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, vol. i. p. 163.

[2] Charters, p. xlv.

teries, Arbroath, was assessed on an income of £4000 a year. Holyrood, as far as wealth was concerned, came in the second group along with Kelso and Paisley, but below Arbroath, St Andrews, and Dunfermline.[1]

After having the Monastery of the Holy Rood constantly in one's thoughts for a considerable time, the temptation is great to attempt in fancy to rebuild the Monastery and its great church as, say, King James IV. saw it when he made it his home. The materials, however, are very scanty to carry out the imaginary work of reconstruction. There is a coloured sketch supposed to have been executed by an English officer for his Government in 1544, and now preserved in the British Museum, which suggests the position of the church and monastic buildings, and shows how these stood in relation to the Palace. Then there remains the fragment of the Abbey church, what was originally its nave; while the excavations made a few years ago give an indication of the size of the church when entire, and also of the position of the Chapter House. Further, a fragment of the cloisters still remains attached to the south wall of the church, and also the door which led from the north-east corner of the cloisters into the church. There is also a description in one of Father Hay's manuscripts of the interior of the church, although it is impossible even to guess the authorities he quoted when he drew up this description. It may be stated that Father Francis Augustin Hay, in the end of the seventeenth century, collected materials for a history of the Monastery of Holyrood. He was a Roman Catholic priest, and when James VII. was endeavouring to re-establish the Papal power in Scotland, Hay dreamt that he was to be abbot of a new Abbey of Holyrood. That is all that

[1] Rentale Sancti Andree, Preface, p. xvi.

remains out of which to rebuild this Monastery of the Holy Cross.

The sketch of 1544, slight though it be, at least tells some things. It is a view of Palace and Monastery from the north-west; it shows distinctly the Abbey church to the east of the Palace, and the monastic buildings to the south-east. The church is in comparison with the Palace a building of great size, cruciform in shape, with two square towers on either side of the west door. The red roofs of the monastic buildings are shown to the south and east of Palace and church. In the monastic houses of Northern Europe it was the usual practice to build the church to the north of the monastery, so that the high roof and great bulk of the former might protect the dwelling-places from the cold north winds.[1] The Monastery of Holyrood in this respect conformed to the plan on which most monasteries were laid out. The cloisters, too, are where they would naturally be looked for—built on the south wall of the church, and entered from it by a door at the east end of the nave. The ruin of the Chapter House also falls in with the stated plan, in so far as it is found to the east of the cloisters, and in direct communication with the south transept of the church. And so an antiquary, learned in monastic buildings, might from the traces which remain imagine the Monastery of the Holy Cross. From the distance between the south transept and the west tower, he would calculate the area of the cloister square. He would devote the buildings of the east cloister to the dormitories of the monks and to the Fratry, being the quarter from which the monks might the easier pass into the church for early and late services; and to the east of this cloister, he would rebuild the octagon of the Chapter House. In

[1] Gasquet's English Monastic Life, p. 13.

the south cloister, he would reconstruct the refectory and the great kitchen—the most impressive buildings in a great monastery; he would mark where the lavatory stood and the towels hung, where the brethren washed before they dined. And in the west cloister may have been the accommodation for guests; but it may be that a house so famous for its hospitality as Holyrood, and accustomed as it was to entertain kings and nobles, may have had more than one building for the reception of guests, so as to suit visitors of different degrees. The sketch of 1544 shows detached buildings to east and south of the monastic square, and these may have represented the houses of the abbot and of the prior, a hospital for the sick, and a home for the aged poor. Around the Abbey, the old picture suggests the gardens, well shaded with trees; and the National Accounts tell of the "stank" or fish-ponds, which supplied the table of the abbot with Friday's dinner. It requires imagination, certainly, to rebuild this old religious house; just as it needs real knowledge of Scottish history to travel back beyond the latter days of the Scottish monasteries, when the Church in the land was, if not dead, at least rotting away—back to the earlier time when the religious houses were homes of piety and havens of rest in a distracted country.

There is in the Register of the Great Seal, of date 1564,[1] an entry which brings back the names of parts of the old Monastery after they had been ruined. It is a grant by Queen Mary to Patrick, Lord Ruthven, and Janet Stewart, his spouse, of a site for a Town House. The grant is, "the unoccupied house and walls standing at the east end of the house called New-Frater of Halyrudhous, with the Cross House upon the south side of the same; having

[1] Reg. Mag. Sig., vol. iv., No. 1567.

the garden of the Abbot on the east, the garden of the Prior on the west, the orchard of the Prior and the Vennel on the south side." This entry suggests how some of the parts of the Monastery were related to one another; there is, however, definite information regarding the Abbey Church. The excavations carried out in the grounds of the Palace during the years 1910-11 by Mr W. T. Oldrieve, as principal architect to H.M. Office of Works, with consent of His Majesty the King, have enabled a ground-plan of the Abbey Church in the days of its pride to be laid down, and its size to be exactly measured. The portion of the old church which remains, although ruined, has been long recognised to be only the nave from the west door to the west pillars of the transepts; this measures 128 feet 10 inches. The recent excavations show that The Crossing continued the church for 30 feet eastward; and beyond, the choir stretched for 108 feet 6 inches. The church when entire therefore measured, from east to west, 267 feet 4 inches.[1]

It may be well to compare these figures with those relating to the churches of some of the other Scottish Monasteries. The church of St Andrews—a cathedral of the Scottish Primate, as well as the chapel of a Monastery —was 355 feet long; that of Arbroath measured 293 feet in length — this being external measurement; and Dunfermline was 268 feet 6 inches in length. It will be seen that Holyrood Church was practically the same in length as Arbroath and Dunfermline, but much smaller than St Andrews.[2] The town church of Edinburgh, St Giles, is 196 feet in length. The recent excavations at Holyrood have laid bare the foundations of a north transept, and have shown that it had on the east side two chapels

[1] Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol. iv. p. 192.

[2] See MacGibbon and Ross's Eccles. Architecture of Scotland.

attached: the foundations of the south transept have entirely disappeared. There are at the east end of the choir fragments which suggest an ambulatory and lady chapel. The only part of the church which David I. built which remains intact is the Norman door—now blocked by the royal vault—which led from the south-east end of the nave into the cloisters. The other parts of the ruins are of various dates, but the most marked features are the work of Abbot Crawford, toward the end of the fifteenth century. The church had two western towers, square in shape, one of which still stands; and tradition says that it had a high central tower where the transepts intersected the nave, but this is extremely doubtful. There is a description of the church when the monastery was at the zenith of its power, given by Father Hay. He says that "the mighty temple was divided into three parts: the sanctuary, the choir, in which stood the pulpit, and the nave, wherein a place for prayer was marked off for the people." He describes the great corona like a crown of brass, hung by a strong chain; and states that before the altar stood "a tree fashioned out of brass," blazing with jewels. He speaks of the many relics, "amongst which was the very precious black cross,"[1] and of the vessels of gold and of silver which the church possessed. The description is probably intended to apply to the church after it had been restored by Abbot Crawford and beautified by Abbot Bellenden.

There is also preserved, attached to the Holyrood Ordinale, a list of Church goods drawn up in 1493. The list does not show any great profusion either of vestments for the clergy or ornaments for the Church. "The most striking feature of the inventory is the meagreness of its

[1] Charters of Holyrood, Preface, p. xvi.

contents for a monastery of such wealth and importance."[1]

As the buildings of the Monastery of Holyrood have passed away, so the memory of the men who inhabited it is lost. The community of Holyrood belonged to the Order of Canons Regular of St Augustine. They were known as the Austin or Black Canons, and being under different vows from the Austin friars, must be distinguished from the latter. "The Order was conventual or monastic rather than congregational or provincial, like the Friars; that is, the members were professed for a special house and belonged by virtue of their vows to it, and not to the general body of their brethren in the country."[2] These Canons were marked out from most of the monastic Orders in so far as they were of necessity priests, and this gave the Monastery the advantage of being able to send men belonging to their own community to serve in the parish churches under Holyrood, instead of appointing priests outside the community as Vicars. The Order of Canons of St Augustine held many of the most important Monasteries both in England and Scotland. In Scotland they had twenty-five houses, including St Andrews, the seat of the Primate; Scone, where the Scottish Kings were crowned; Inchcolm, on its little island in the Firth of Forth; and Cambuskenneth, lying so cosily below the Castle Rock of Stirling. The distinguishing dress of these canons was the White Rochet, over which was worn a long black cassock; they also had a long black cloak with hood, and the Biretta, a pecular black cap with three corners. The Black Canons seem to have been popular both in England

[1] Preface to the Holyrood Ordinale, Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol. viii. p. lxxxviii.

[2] Gasquet's English Monastic Life, p. 225.

and Scotland; they were not "preaching Friars," members of the Church Militant and keen controversialists against the Reformers; the intention of the canons' life was for prayer and study, and their daily work the care of the broad estates belonging to their monasteries.[1] Thus, when the storm of the Reformation burst on the Scottish Church, the bitterest taunts of the Reformers were levelled against the Friars; while the Canons of Holyrood were allowed to enjoy their pensions after the Reformation until death overtook them. It is but negative praise to say that in the literature of the Reformation no charges of misconduct, such as are made against many of the religious houses, are found against the Canons of Holyrood. The Monastery of Holyrood had at its head both an Abbot and a Prior, and each of these had within the Abbey precincts a house and garden appropriated to his use.[2] The Abbot was the official head of the Monastery; he took his seat in the Scottish Parliament when summoned by the King; he represented the Monastery in the general assemblies of the Augustinian Order; as a man of standing and education the Abbot was often called to fill places in the Government of Scotland or to represent the country at foreign courts. The Prior, who was appointed by the Abbot, attended to the internal affairs and to the discipline of the Monastery. There will be found in the preface to the 'Charters of Holyrood'[3] the list of the Abbots, as far as it can be compiled.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century the Monastery was ruled by the ablest and best known of its long line of Abbots, Archibald Crawford. "He was

[1] Catholic Encyclopædia, vol. iii., "Canons."
[2] Reg. Mag. Sig., vol. iv., No. 1567. [3] Bannatyne Club, 1840.

a son of Sir William Crawford of Haining in the Barony of Maxwell."[1] The story of his induction in 1450 will be afterwards told as written in the Records of the Vatican. Crawford must have been already recognised as a man of position at the time of his appointment as Abbot, for in 1456 he appears in the Exchequer Rolls first as Auditor of the National Accounts, and before the end of the year as Treasurer of Scotland—an office which he held at intervals down to his death. He was also employed on several occasions as Commissioner to negotiate treaties with England. Abbot Crawford left his mark on the Abbey Church of Holyrood. During the three centuries since its foundation the Church had suffered from the hand of time, and probably from the work of "oure ancient enemies of England"; so the Abbot took it in hand and restored it. The extent of the restoration cannot be defined, but at any rate Crawford built the buttresses which still show so conspicuously on both north and south walls of the Church, and he is said to have left his coat-of-arms carved more than thirty times on the walls. The buttresses were made necessary by the walls of the nave beginning to bulge under the pressure of the roof. Crawford was succeeded, apparently in 1483, by Robert Bellenden, who continued the work of beautifying the Abbey Church. "He brought home the great bells, the great brazen font, twenty-four cups of gold and silver; he made a chalice of fine gold, an Eucharist, with several chalices of silver; he covered the kirk with lead; with many other good works which were too numerous to relate." Bellenden was Abbot to the end of the fifteenth century.[2]

The Records of the Vatican, as far as they relate to

[1] Charters, p. xxxi. [2] Ibid., p. xxxii.

this country, have been recently published,[1] and contain some curious information as to the way in which the Abbots of Holyrood were elected, and also regarding the relation in which the Scottish monasteries stood to the Pope and to the Kings of Scotland. The references all belong to the fifteenth century, when the Church of Scotland was steadily losing touch with the people. For the Church, as represented by the higher clergy at any rate, had largely forgotten the spiritual side of its life, and was inclined to regard its temporalities as all-important. This downward progress was in no small measure owing to the decline of the spirit of religion in the monasteries. These had largely gathered into their hands the wealth of the Church in Scotland, and when those who ruled the monasteries began to regard the endowments as belonging to themselves, which they might use for their own purposes instead of as property placed in their hands in trust for religious purposes, the cause of the Church suffered grievous injury. All through the fifteenth century the dilapidation of the monasteries was going on, Pope and King sharing in the spoil, along with the abbots of the great houses.[2] The Papal Records shed curious light on this phase of the life of the Church, as shown in the doings at Holyrood. They tell, for instance, that in March 1423, the Pope issued a mandate to the Bishops of Dunkeld and Whithorn to inquire into a charge made against the Abbot of Holyrood, Henry de Driden, by an Augustinian canon of the house named Patrick Waterston. Henry de Driden's name does not occur in the list of abbots as given in "The Charters." The charge is that

[1] Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland.

[2] History of the Church in Scotland, by Prof. MacEwen, D.D., chap. xvii.

"the Abbot has alienated the property of the Abbey," and further, that he had caused the resignation of the former abbot by asserting "that he was the son of a married man and an unmarried woman, and so incapable of holding an Abbacy." The result of the trial is not actually recorded, but in April 1424, "Patrick, Canon of Holyrood, and Prior of St Mary's Isle," is declared abbot,[1] which seems to mean that the charge was found proven, and that Henry had been deposed. So Patrick became abbot, but he in his turn had to pass through the fire, for in 1436 the Register records that the Pope again orders a commission to inquire into the conduct of the Abbot of Holyrood; and the said Patrick is found guilty of the same offence as his predecessor—dilapidating the property of the Abbey.[2] The "Convent" and its vassals are thereupon instructed not to give obedience to Patrick as abbot, and the Abbot of Inch Colm is appointed administrator. The "Convent," however, refused to part with Patrick, or to obey the Abbot of Inch Colm, and is therefore excommunicated by the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Sabina, who had tried the case.[3] The situation was exceedingly awkward, and was complicated by the action of the prosecutor at the trial, John Kers, one of the canons, who withdrew from the charges he had made. It was evident that "unless an end be made as quickly as possible, the said Monastery of Holyrood might suffer grave detriment in the said spirituals and temporals." So the Holy Father again intervenes, "calls up to himself all causes pending," removes the sentence of excommunication, and appoints another commission to rehear the cause. The matter is settled in 1439, when William Crozier, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, retries the case as Papal Nuncio, and excul-

[1] C.P.R., vol. vii. pp. 291, 346.

[2] Ibid., vol. viii. p. 551.

[3] Ibid., p. 671.

pates Abbot Patrick from the charges made against him.[1] These dilapidations of the property of the monasteries were constantly recurring, and at one period it is recorded that the Canons of Holyrood "were in positive destitution,"[2] owing to the depletion of the property of the Abbey.

There is a further series of entries in the Papal Registers regarding Holyrood Abbey, which illustrates the unseemly struggles which were constantly going on for possession of the lucrative positions in the Scottish Church. All through these centuries the Pope claimed right to nominate to the higher positions in the Church in Scotland, and the King supported by Parliament resisted, so that contests were constantly arising, and blood was sometimes spilt in the struggles between rival claimants.[3] In the year 1450 there are two entries in the Vatican Records, the first in which the Pope nominates a new rector for the parish of Kirkpatrick, in the diocese of Paisley, in place of Archibald Crawford, appointed Abbot of Holyrood; while the second instructs the prior and convent of Holyrood to receive the said Archibald.[4] But the "said Archibald" does not seem to have been acceptable to the east country monastery, and a rival abbot appears to have been put forward, possibly by the King, so that Holyrood Abbey was blessed with two abbots—Archibald appointed by the Pope, and the other acknowledged by the monks. The latter may have been the "James" who is recorded in the official list of abbots as appointed 26th April 1450.[5] Crawford did manage to put down his rival but at considerable cost, and perhaps naturally

[1] C.P.R., vol. viii. p. 294.
[2] MacEwen's History, p. 291.
[3] MacEwen's History, p. 345.
[4] C.P.R., vol. x. pp. 492, 509.
[5] Charters, p. xxxi.

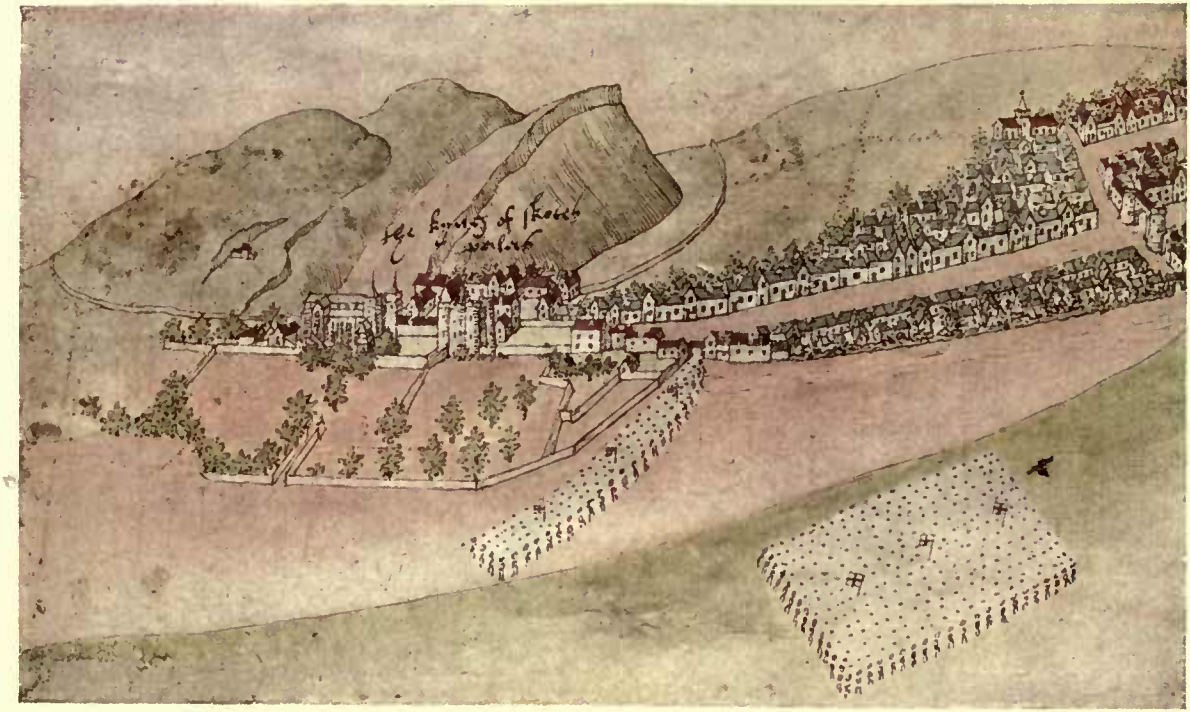
he used the endowments of the Abbey to provide funds for the fight. At any rate, four years after his nomination as abbot, in June 1454,[1] Crawford petitioned the Pope, "that after provision had been made to him by Papal authority of the said Monastery, and he had taken oath not to alienate its rents, &c., he, on account of the imprisonment of his person, and many other injuries which had been inflicted on him, before he was admitted to the temporalities, was compelled to enter into and to swear to observe a number of contracts with diverse persons, ecclesiastical and secular, with regard to a number of lands, tithes, rights, and other things belonging to the Monastery, whereby it had been enormously injured; that he cannot with a good conscience tolerate any longer." The Holy Father, delighted to discover a Scottish abbot possessed of a conscience, issued a mandate appointing a commission, consisting of the Abbot of Newbattle and the provosts of the churches of Crichton and Corstorphine, to investigate the matter. The commission "decreed and declared" that the said Archibald "is free from the vice of dilapidation, relax the last mentioned oaths, restore the said Abbot and Monastery, and pronounce the said contracts null and void." So Archibald Crawford fought his way to the abbot's chair of the Monastery of the Holy Cross; recovered the temporalities of the Abbey; was enabled to rebuild the Abbey Church which was sadly in need of repair; and to carve his crest on every buttress of the restored church.

In one of the old histories, John o' Fordun's Chronicle,[2] there is a story which incidentally tells of the relation of the Canons of Holyrood to one of the parish churches under Holyrood—Whitekirk in East Lothian—and of the

[1] C.P.R., vol. x. p. 711.

[2] Chapter clxxvi.

parochial duties that they performed. Edward III. of England had invaded Scotland, and had his headquarters at Haddington; his great fleet was lying in the Forth with supplies for the English army. But a terrible storm arose which broke up the fleet and caused the retreat of the English. John o' Fordun explains in a most satisfactory way the cause of the storm. It happened that "some men-o'-war's men, sons of Belial, had disembarked and fallen upon the White Kirk of the Virgin." "Being unmindful of their own salvation, they banished fear and stripped the image of the Virgin, which no man had with impunity touched with evil intent, and which was decked with gold rings, necklaces, and armlets, and other ornaments." These men of Belial committed a further enormity, for they "bound and dragged with them to their craft" two Canons of the Monastery of Holyrood, who were then serving the Church of Whitekirk. To punish their sin this terrible storm was sent, and "the ship which had wrought the heinous robbery and its crew, who had dared to lay hands on the Lady of the World, were whelmed in the gulf of the deep." The two black Canons were saved, as they had been "shifted to other ships" before the storm broke. This outrage was perpetrated in 1355; a worse outrage was done to this same "White Kirk of the Virgin" in 1914, when "some sons of Belial," believed to be women, of set purpose burned it down, after it had survived all these centuries. It will fall to an historian of the future to tell how this second outrage on "The Lady of the World" was avenged, and these daughters of Belial punished.



HOLYROOD, FROM "A COLORED PLAN OR BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE TOWN OF EDINBURGH, DRAWN TEMP. HENRY VIII." From British Museum.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PALACE OF HOLYROOD HOUSE.

With the first years of the sixteenth century, a new side is added to the story of Holyrood; during the preceding centuries, it had been the record of a great monastery, there is now to be also told the history of a king's palace.

This sixteenth century which brought this change into the history of Holyrood is in many respects the most interesting period of Scottish history, for it witnessed that revolution in the temper of the people arising from the new habit that men had acquired of thinking for themselves, which produced the Reformation. It is not here that the deeper changes which passed over Scotsmen during this century ought to be treated; but rather the superficial—the new fashion of the time for houses more decorative than the old fortified castles; clothing more gorgeous than plate armour; ceremonial more studied, more full of colour, rejoicing in pomp and noise. This was the time when those two magnificent monarchs, Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, admired each other and themselves on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. James IV., who was King when the sixteenth century dawned in Scotland, was a typical ruler of his age. It is easy to record the faults and

weaknesses of his character, but not possible for any one who reads the contemporary records to escape the glamour of his personality and the charm of his gallant bearing. James was so thoroughly and without reserve a man of his time; loving the gorgeous in life, and the high-pitched note; interested in all the novelties of the age—big ships, and the new art of printing, for instance; very gallant to women, without troubling his conscience by being in any way faithful to any one woman; in no way religious as the word is now understood, but greatly given to the superstitions of his time. A monarch like King James IV. was sure to be a builder of palaces, and he it was who built the first Palace of Holyrood House. He added to and modernised all the Scottish royal houses; Holyrood he founded. The site, too, was characteristic of the man. It was not a sensible place to build a palace; but it was near a great religious house, which might lend a blessing to his new home; besides, he had come to love the place by living in its monastery. As far as can be made out, James had resided in the Abbey at regular intervals since he ascended the throne, and while the new palace was being built he continued to live in the monastery.

The story of the erection of the original Palace of Holyrood House, which went on at intervals during most of the first half of the sixteenth century, is told in the National Accounts of Scotland. These accounts belong to three categories: the Exchequer Rolls, which go back as far as 1326; the Accounts of the Lord Treasurer, which commence in 1473; those of the King's Master of Works, which date from 1529. There are blanks in each of the three sets. Some of the Accounts are in print, some still in manuscript. It is the Accounts of the Lord

Treasurer which give most information about the building of Holyrood Palace, and, as far as it goes, the information must be reliable: it is not tradition, but sober figures. The Treasurer's Accounts are checked by those of the Master Mason of Scotland, should the two sets for the same period both survive. The Master Mason of course had to render his statements before he received cash for his disbursements from the Treasurer. From the Accounts, it can be made out that the Palace, which was Mary Stewart's home when she was Queen, was built at three different times. The first portion by James IV. as a home to which he brought his bride, Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. of England, whom he married in 1503; the second, by his son James V., between 1529 and 1532, on his assuming the government of the country after a long minority; and the third, by the same King before he married Madelaine of France, in 1537. The Palace of Holyrood House so completed remained intact for barely seven years, when it was sacked and burned during the English invasion of May 1544. It then ceased for a few years to be the royal dwelling-place, until Mary of Guise became Regent in 1554; she restored the Palace, and the royal household kept Yule at Holyrood at Christmas-time, 1554. During the years immediately following she further altered it, probably to bring it nearer the fashion of the French chateaux of the period.

As has been told when relating the history of the Abbey, the connection of the Scottish kings with Holyrood had been getting more and more intimate as the fifteenth century went on. Up to the time when the Stewart family succeeded to the throne, Scotland had no fixed capital; but, more especially after James I. returned from his long captivity in England and took up the gov-

ernment, Edinburgh became *de facto* the capital. The kings had a palace on the Castle Hill, but this building, clinging to the edge of the rock on the south side, and looking as if some day it might slip down into the Grass-market, must have been cold and noisy when the winter tempests raged; so the Scottish kings were apt to leave this eyrie, and, with or without an invitation, become the guests of the Abbot of Holyrood in his princely house. But the early years of the sixteenth century were to change altogether the relation in which Holyrood stood to the Scottish Crown. James IV. having sown a considerable crop of wild oats, began to look out for a wife about 1500; his choice fell on Margaret Tudor, the young daughter of Henry VII. of England. The match was arranged, but the bride being young—very young—James had to wait a year or two for her; so in the interval he proceeded, like the magnificent prince he was, to prepare for his marriage, and commenced a perfect "orgy" of building. The Treasurer's Accounts from 1500 to 1504 are curious reading, and a warning against extravagance to every man thinking of getting married. James was carrying out during these years extensive additions and improvements on the four royal houses of Stirling, Linlithgow, Falkland, and Lochmaben: he was building the "Kirk of Steil," a most characteristic old church, now known as the Parish Church of Ladykirk, as a thank-offering for rescue from drowning in the Tweed; he was forming the harbour of Newhaven, which is now the headquarters of the fishing industry in the Firth of Forth; and he had started building a man-of-war there.[1] But all this was not a sufficient offering to his English bride, so he resolved on building a palace near his capital, and he

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. pp. 267-280.

chose as a site ground adjoining the west front of the Monastery of Holyrood. The work was in progress in 1501—the first entry in the accounts running, "the 12 day of October bocht fra Benedict, Duchman, ane thousand six hundreth seventy ane burdis [boards] of whelk the King gaif to Schir Peter Crechtoun 24, and the remanent to Strivelin and Halyrudhous."[1] The finishing touch—the blazoning of the Royal Arms on the gatehouse—was just completed when Margaret was approaching the Scottish border, in the last days of July 1503.[2] The pages of the Lord Treasurer's accounts, containing the items of the charge for building, are interesting reading to any one having a taste for minor antiquities. In these old days building was not done by contract. The King's Master Mason, Leonard Logy, was responsible for planning and carrying out all building operations and for paying all the workmen. Logy was, however, superintending building for the King in many different places at this time, and the new Palace was a big job, so he put different sections of the building into the hands of faithful lieutenants. Thus Walter Merlioun—isn't it a pretty name?—built the "Foarwerk" (the Gatehouse) and the "New Chappell"; William Turnbull had charge of the "Gallory and bos windois"; and Michael Wright, the Queen's Great Chamber.[3]

The Master Mason's accounts for this period are not preserved, so it is only the sums as drawn from the Treasurer which tell of the progress of the work. Logy as Master Mason drew money as he required it. He seems to have paid the wages not only of the various classes of tradesmen employed in the actual construction of the

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 83. [2] Ibid., p. 383.
[3] Ibid., p. 269.

Palace, but also of the workmen employed in the quarries which provided the building-stone. There is no record where the stone was found, but there is a long series of entries regarding wood. For the rafters Scottish wood was used, but for all other purposes Baltic timber; it is spoken of as "eistland boards," and Dantzig seems to have been the port of shipment. There must have been a strong opinion in favour of this Baltic wood as against home-grown, for there is a curious entry: "Paid for certain timber taken from the Earl of Bothwell, when there was no other to be got."[1] The ironwork used in the house seems to have been French and Spanish; the plaster French, as there is an entry, "20 ton of plaster brocht hame by Dorange, Frenchman." The window glass was supplied by Thomas Peblis, "glass-wright," who probably imported it; Peblis held a contract for years for supplying the royal houses with glass.[2] The amount disbursed by the Treasurer for workmen's wages was somewhat over £3000 — Scots, of course; and this probably included quarrymen's wages.

Following the entries for building are those for furnishing for the Palace and for clothing for the King. These are very interesting, and show how Flanders, even more than France, was in the sixteenth century the country in which the highest art was devoted to manufactures. There is in the Accounts an entry regarding payments to "Julian, factor to Jerome de Friscobald, Limbardy, for this stuf underwritten, bocht be him in Flanders and send hame be the Kingis command."[3] The first item is for thirty-five "tymir" of ermine — a "tymir" being a bundle of

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 273.
[2] Exchequer Rolls, vol. xii. p. xxxviii.
[3] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 227.

forty skins; then follows five "chairs of estate." The latter are described at length, one being covered with Flemish cloth of gold, the others with Flemish velvet; the wood and iron work supplied are detailed, and the fringes and ribbons, and the wages for the upholsterers. The chairs are then packed in canvas, put into cases, and conveyed from Bruges to Middleburg, which was the headquarters of the "Conservator of Scottish Customs." There are also recorded many transactions with "James Homyll," an Edinburgh merchant, who had imported furniture "furth of Flandrez," and who reaped his reward.[1] The tapestry for the Palace seems to have been largely bought from him; it is catalogued as "ane pece of Hercules, ane pece of Marcus Corianus, twa pecis of Susanna sewit togidder, ane covir for ane bed of Susanna, ane pece of Salamon." One can guess that the scenes represented were founded on old classical stories. The vestibules of the Palace were covered with "Verdeororis," an inferior kind of tapestry, which did not represent an historical event, but only garden or woodland scenery. Then there are many purchases of "liars," which are understood to be carpets, and of "cushings," two of these being of cloth of gold, costing £60. The sheets for beds were of "Holland cloth" and "Brittany linen"; and there are many entries for "cowntour boards"—flat pieces of wood prepared for the enumeration of figures, which seem to have been hung in the rooms, just as washing bills now appear on the mantelpieces of hotel bedrooms.

The greatest magnificence was displayed in the Queen's apartments. Her "chamber" was hung with "red and purple-blue velvet," costing £369, 7s. 6d., and "the Queen's

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 214.

Closet" with scarlet; while the Queen's "bed of State" was covered with cloth of gold costing £386, 5s. There is a very interesting entry for silver-plate, also bought in Flanders. The plate included silver dinner-plates, dishes for meats, salt-cellars, and goblets of different kinds, some "quhit" silver, some overgilt. The duty of purchasing these had been entrusted to "Maister James Merchamestoun," and his bill came to £1045, 5s. 9d.[1] Difficulty seems to have been experienced in collecting sufficient French money to remit such a large sum, for we find that the Abbot of Melrose produced a hundred French crowns and the Abbot of Kinloss thirty, while "certain merchants of Aberdeen" gave 200 crowns before the amount was collected.[1] It is a curious example of the process of exchange in the early sixteenth century.

But the most amusing items in this very interesting volume of the Treasurer's Accounts is for the "trousseau" which the King provided for himself. The most gorgeous of birds of paradise was not arrayed like James IV. He had doublets of satin and velvet of many hues—purple, and tan-coloured, and black; and gold buttons made for these by "John Auchlek, goldsmith."[2] His hose were of scarlet and yellow; and at least one scarlet bonnet was bought. The acme of perfection was reached in one doublet, parti-coloured according to the fashion of the time, composed as to "ain halfe" of "III. elns of Cloth of Gold" at £22 an ell; and as to the other, of 3¼ ells of crimson velvet at £4, 10s. an ell. What girl could say "No" to a man who wooed her in such an attire? The learned editor of the accounts contained in this volume has counted the more important articles of costume, and states that the King's

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 241; all the sums quoted are in pounds Scots.
[2] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 202.

outfit included twelve gowns, sixteen ordinary coats, two riding-coats, and eight doublets of satin and one of gold wire.[1] This was a time when men dressed in gorgeous apparel. The King's bride, Princess Margaret of England, brought with her an extensive wardrobe,—in fact it is recorded that her thrifty father, Henry VII., had opened his purse-strings for her "providing" in an altogether marvellous manner. But there were some things which James provided for her. There is an entry for a "steik of white damask flowered with gold containing 33¼ elns" for gowns for the King and Queen—these may have been under-gowns for their coronation. There is also an entry giving the names of a number of gold coins of various countries, angels and rose-nobles and Louis, valued at seventy-six pounds and fivepence, which were handed to "John Currour, goldsmith," from which he might "make ane crowne for the Quene."[2] It would have been interesting if Margaret's queenly crown had remained to this day.

There is another series of entries in these Accounts which would warm the hearts of many men in this country—the long list of horses which were purchased. They were bought in all parts of Scotland or imported from the Continent at very various prices. Ten pounds seem to have been an average price, but one was purchased in Stirling for the "King to ride in hawking" which cost only four pounds, and one or two were brought from abroad which cost a lot of money. James Merchamestoun "brocht hame furth of Flandrez" a grey horse for which £50 was paid, while Robert Bertoune received £122 for a brown charger which he imported from Paris. Saddlery, too, was purchased freely, and much of it was furnished with fur lining and silver mounting.

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. lxii.

[2] Ibid., p. 206.

So the Palace of Holyroodhouse was made fit for James's English bride by the end of July 1503, although building operations did go on for some months after. Leonard Logy, the Master of Works, received forty pounds Scots "for his gude and thankfull service done and to be done to the Kingis houses, and speceallie for his deligent and grete laboure made by him in the building of the Palace beside the Abbay of the Holy Croce." And on the 28th July 1503 a considerable sum was disbursed "to buy gold for the King's Arms on the Foryet of Holyroodhouse"—the first part of the Palace which the bride would see.

James was a typical bridegroom, nervous and impatient, and the National Accounts tell the tale, for messenger after messenger was despatched on horseback towards the Border to report the coming of the bride; and the Treasurer had to pay the horse hire. So far the Scottish Records have told the story; it is only fair that the actual wedding ceremonial should be described by one of the bride's supporters. There is a delightfully quaint account of the whole function, solemn as a fashion-book, written by John Young, Somerset Herald, who came north in Margaret's train.[1] It is like one of those sets of old tapestry that one sees in ancient palaces. The colours are faded by the sunlight and damp of centuries, but still one knows they have once been bright; the figures may be stiff and unnatural, but they are unmistakably intended to represent gallant men and beautiful women. The tapestry tells the old story in an old-fashioned way; like to this is John Young's great work.

John Young begins his story at the very beginning, rubbing his hands as he takes up the tempting theme. He tells of the "Fyancells"—the betrothal of the Princess

[1] Leland's Collect., vol. iv. p. 258.

Margaret at Richmond, on Saint Paul's Day in January 1502; the Archbishop of Glasgow, Earl Bothwell, and the "Elect of Murray"—(Andrew Forman, Bishop-elect of Moray)—were the representatives of King James.[1] The ceremony is sufficiently gorgeous. Young allows a short breathing-time, which may be used to explain that a Papal Bull had to be obtained authorising the union, as the young couple were third cousins, and therefore within the proscribed degrees. There were also settlements to arrange, and many legal documents to draw up. Then Young depicts the Princess Margaret setting out on 8th July 1503 from Coliwiston, in Lincolnshire, where her father, King Henry VII., was then residing with his mother, the Countess of Richmond. Henry committed his young daughter—she was only in her fifteenth year—to the charge of the Earl of Surrey, Lord Treasurer of England, who was accompanied by his wife and daughter. They travelled with a great train of nobles and their retainers; with a company of musicians; and with trumpeters to announce her approach to town and village. Margaret rode in a rich litter, but at its side her palfrey was led by her Master-of-Horse, so that she could mount when she approached any town. At Grantham, where the Princess spent the first night, she was received by the clergy; and the Bishop of Norwich, who rode in the company, gave her a great cross of gold to kiss; the Mayor and Aldermen were in attendance too, and the honest men of the town, and the bells were ringing and trumpets sounding, and the houses decorated with banners and tapestry.

So the triumphal procession made its stately way through all Northern England. On the borders of

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. lv.

Lincolnshire the Sheriff, who had so far conducted the Princess, holding "a whyt rod in his hand," and supported by his retainers and by the gentry of the district, passed his duty on to the Sheriff of Nottinghamshire. Thus on she went through a joyous land, every village and town decorated, and the clergy meeting her in procession, while the country people lined the roadsides, bringing great vessels full of drink, saying, "if better they had had, better they had brought." One can hear the hurrahs and see the smiling faces, and feel that the sun is shining. There were great doings at York: for the capital of the North took several days to exhaust its enthusiasm, with processions and Church services, and "it was grete melodie for to here the bells rynge thorough the citie." York acquitted itself nobly. At York, the Princess was met by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the great power of the North, who was commanded by the King to escort her to Scotland. He came, accompanied by many a knight of the Northern shires, whose name is famed in Border story. Again the gay procession set out northwards, and before July was closed it arrived at Berwick-on-Tweed. As the frontier town, Berwick was perhaps the strongest fortified place in England; it was held by a large garrison under an experienced commander. Here, again, Margaret rested, and then, on the 1st August, accompanied by an even more imposing train of two thousand horsemen, she rode over the short two miles to the Scottish frontier at Lamberton Kirk. There gaily-decorated "palyeons" (tents) had been erected by King James, and the Archbishop of Glasgow was present to receive the Princess on behalf of the King, while 1000 Scotsmen—500 on horseback—had turned out to form her bodyguard. So the Earl of Northumberland demitted his

charge and made his "adieus"; most of the English escort turned back; while Margaret and her retinue passed to Fast Castle for the night, and her great Scottish escort found accommodation in the Abbey of Coldingham near by. Thus on by Haddington to Dalkeith Castle, where she stayed for four days, her train overflowing to the Abbey of Newbattle, standing among its great trees on the pleasant banks of Esk.

The Princess was barely settled in the Castle of Dalkeith when the Scottish King arrived to pay his respects to his bride. James appeared like a hero of romance, on a noble horse with rich trappings; he was gorgeously dressed; wore his beard somewhat long; and had his lyre on his back. He was accompanied by his brother the Archbishop of St Andrews, and a train of sixty horse. The King being conveyed to the Princess's chamber, "he and she made great reverences the one to the other, his head being bare, and they kissed together, and in lykewise kissed the ladies, and others also." Having paid his court to the Princess, James returned to Edinburgh; he repeated his visit on each day that Margaret remained at Dalkeith, and on each occasion James wore different clothes, all brilliant, which the English herald describes with loving care. On the morning of 7th August, Margaret left the Castle of Dalkeith on her way to Holyrood, riding in her litter. Half-way, James met her at the head of a great company; the Princess left the litter, and the King, after saluting her, lifted her on to his horse, but finding it too restive, he mounted her horse with the Princess behind him, and so conducted her into the city of Edinburgh. At the Port in the first Town Wall they were received by the religious orders, who carried the sacred relics from the holy places of the city, including the arm-bone of

St Giles; and all through the gaily-decorated streets they passed, and down the Canongate to the Abbey Church, stopping every now and then to view some quaintly acted allegory, according to the fashion of the time. Here they heard Mass; and then the King, bareheaded we are told, led his bride through the Abbey cloisters into the Palace which he had built for her reception.

Next morning, the 8th August 1503, the marriage was celebrated in the Church of the Monastery of Holyrood. Before the ceremony, King James, sitting in state in the great hall of the Palace, received the English guests, having the Archbishop of York on his right hand and the Earl of Surrey on the left, "so that it was a noble thing to see the said chamber so nobly furnished," and set orations were made by learned doctors of each nation. Then the two processions passed into the great Church of the Abbey. The Princess was supported by the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Surrey; the Countess of Surrey bore her train, assisted by a gentleman usher, while a number of noble Englishwomen followed. The King came, supported by his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and accompanied by the officers of the Scottish Court. "Then the noble marriage was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow," the Archbishop of York reading the Papal Bulls consenting thereto; a Mass followed; the Queen was anointed, and the King placed a sceptre in her hand. Then the procession went back to the Palace, and a great banquet followed, tables being spread in every room. The English herald who describes the ceremonial has difficulty in finding words to recount the gorgeous dresses and rich jewels and the brilliancy of the whole scene. . . . After the banquet, which took place at an early hour, the minstrels, both Scottish and English,

played, and sports took place; and at the usual hour, the King and Court returned to the Church of the Abbey for Even-song, and supper followed. Before he sat down, the King changed his dress and handed his "Gowne of Marriage" to the English heralds, Somerset Herald returning thanks. Next day the Queen presented her marriage robe to the Scottish heralds, but afterwards redeemed it for forty "nobles." The festivities lasted about a week. Jousts were held in the precincts of the Palace; there was much feasting and music; and on St Lawrence Day the King and Queen went in separate processions to St Giles Kirk and heard Mass sung by the "Religyous of the place." After service the King, "for the love of the present Queen and her ladies," made forty-one knights, whom he presented to Margaret as "her knights." The festivities wound up with another service in the Abbey Church, and after Mass the King created three Earls, whose titles were cried in the Church. Then the English guests took their departure, the great Churchmen first. Surrey and the noblemen and knights who had accompanied him followed.

Ten years later it was James's fate to meet the Earl of Surrey again; it was on Flodden's fatal field, where Surrey commanded the levies of the northern counties, who had gathered to resist James's senseless invasion of England. It is not easy to read the account of the brilliant wedding ceremony at Holyrood without glancing down the years to the last scene in which King James played a part, when the stars on that September night looked down on Flodden, and on the great circle of the noblest and bravest of his subjects who had fallen fighting around their brave but foolish King on that hapless day.

King James IV. after his marriage does not seem to have done any more building at Holyrood Palace, but he added to the dignity of his Palace in a quaint manner—he built a Lion's House, and he provided a lion to inhabit the house.[1] Where the lion came from is not known, but it was landed at Leith, as there is a charge for conveying the cage from Leith to the Palace; the keeper who brought it received a gratuity. The lion was of course the armorial bearings of Scotland, and had therefore a right to a place in the scheme of a Royal Palace; it is believed that some of the other royal houses were endowed in the same way, and a part of Stirling Palace is still called the "lion's den." As far as Holyrood was concerned, the lion became an institution; its home was in the Palace garden, and its keeper was the keeper of the garden, Sir James Sharp, whose title shows him to have been a priest in orders. The lion or its successor in office remained during the century; for in 1595 we read in the Exchequer Rolls[2] a charge, "Item to Thomas Fentoun, keeper of the Palace Garden, for keeping of the Lion, Lucerve, and the rest of the 'pettis and beistis' in his keeping, and nourishment of them, by the space of one year, £244": a "lucerve" is what is now called a lynx. Possibly the lion and its cage went south with James VI. when he departed from Holyrood in 1603. James IV. was the forerunner of the modern collector of wild animals, for shortly after the lion became an inmate of the garden of Holyroodhouse, two bears arrived, one a present from the laird of Rosyth, and the other from the Abbot of Cambuskenneth.[3]

James improved the palace in another way—he drained

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. iii. p. 200. [2] Vol. xxiii. p. 26.
[3] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 191.

"the loch beside the abbey,"[1] and the ground so recovered he added to the Palace garden. The "loch" or pond was probably fed by one of the two streams which flowed on either side of the Palace.

Some time after James's marriage there was a notable function at Holyrood;[2] it is a performance thoroughly characteristic of the King and of the times. A distinguished Scotsman, "Barnard Stewart, brother german to the Earl of Lennox," arrived from France on a visit and was entertained by the King, "who set him at the table with himself and made him judge in all his joustings and tournaments, calling him 'Father of War.'" Stewart was Sieur d'Aubigny, and a distinguished officer of the French Crown. James resolved on a grand tournament in honour of his guest. A hundred days' notice was given, so that knights from France, England, and Denmark might attend, and the jousting, which took place at Holyrood, continued for forty days, D'Aubigny occupying the "seat royal" as judge. The King engaged in the tournay in disguise as the "Black Knight," and there was a mysterious "Black Lady" who attended the tournament, and for whose sake the "Black Knight" gave battle to all challengers. This proceeding on the King's part seems to have been an elaborate joke, as Dunbar, the leading Scottish poet of the time, writes some stanzas entitled "Of ane Blak-Moir" —"A black-a-more"—on the unparalleled ugliness of the fair one, the refrain of each verse—and they are pretty coarse —being "My ladye with the mikle lippis."[3] The chronicler tells that the "Black Knight" held his own against all comers, "for he was very puissant and strenthie on horse-

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. ii. p. 299.
[2] Pitscottie's Chronicles, chap. x.
[3] Dunbar's Poems (Cambridge, 1907), p. 97.

back, and fought and jousted with all kinds of weapons." After the tournament the King made a "great triumph and banquet in Holyroodhouse," which continued for three days, and lasted each day from 9 A.M. to 9 P.M., the guests being served with the most delicious meats and drinks which could be procured in Scotland, England, and France. "Between each service a farce or play was acted." At the end of the last day's banqueting a "cloud" descended from the roof of the hall of the Palace, enclosed the "Black Lady," carried her up with it, and she was seen no more. The whole performance, including the attendance of the "Black Lady," is thoroughly characteristic of James IV.

Two events of consequence belong to the year 1506. In February, the Queen gave birth at Holyrood to a son, who was baptised two days after in the Abbey Church as "James, Prince of Scotland and of the Isles." The boy unfortunately died within a few months. A short time after James was highly honoured by receiving an embassy from the Pope, Julius II., who in the Abbey Church of Holyrood presented him with a "purple diadem wrought with flowers of gold, with a sword having the hilt and scabbard of gold set with precious stones."[1] The sword and embroidered sword-belt form part of the Regalia of Scotland preserved in the Crown Room in Edinburgh Castle. At the same time the Pope declared James "to be protectour and defendour of Christen Faythe." The Faith of Christendom was in a perilous condition if James IV. of Scotland was its best defender in Europe.

[1] Leslie's History (Bannatyne), p. 75.

CHAPTER IV.

KING JAMES V.'S ADDITIONS TO HOLYROOD HOUSE.

James IV.'s tragic death at Flodden in 1513 entailed on Scotland a long minority, for the heir to the throne was a boy of eighteen months old, while the position was made worse by the fact that the Queen-Mother had the marrying propensities of her brother Henry VIII., without the faculty for affairs of State which most of the Tudors possessed. After James IV.'s death, the Scottish Estates appointed the Duke of Albany Regent for the boy king, and in 1515 he entered on his office, and as Regent took up residence in Holyrood. Albany was the next heir to the throne after the child king, but he was to all intents a Frenchman, having lived on his extensive estates in France, and he was unable to speak either English or Scotch; he never really settled down in Scotland. He has been credited with making additions to the Palace, but no records of any disbursements for building operations are to be found in the National Accounts, and it appears very unlikely that he should have meddled with stone and lime while acting as Regent. Albany, who took office in 1515, went back to France nominally on four months' leave of absence, in 1517; he did not return to his duties, however, until the end of 1521. Next year he took another holiday of a year, returning in September 1523; in 1524 he departed never to return. In the Treasurer's Accounts for 1515 there are

several pages of entries for repairing the Palace and stables, "for the cumin of my lord governour"; and again in 1523, when Albany paid his last visit to Scotland, the Palace was put in order.

During these years after Flodden Scotland was in a very distracted condition, torn to pieces by contending factions. It was then that the retainers of the families of Douglas and Hamilton met in the High Street of Edinburgh in the famous skirmish called "Cleanse the Causeway." In 1524 the boy king—he was twelve years old—was brought from Stirling, where he had been brought up, to Edinburgh by his mother, supported by the Hamiltons, was "erected" as King, and shortly after took up his residence in Holyrood. James V. developed early, and at an early age showed his father's propensity for building. The young King began building operations at Holyrood Palace in 1529, when he was only seventeen; the principal result of his operations appears to be that Tower with four corner turrets which bears his name, and which, although much altered, is the only part of the sixteenth-century Palace which remains intact. The work went on from 1529 to 1532, with an interval of about a year. No plans remain to show exactly the buildings which were erected, but the entries in the accounts are in great detail, and the money entered in the Treasurer's Accounts is checked by the statement rendered by the Master Mason of the time,—John Scrymgeour had now succeeded Leonard Logy. The first entry in the Treasurer's Accounts reads:[1] "Item, deliverit to Maister John Scrymgeour, Maister of Work, for payment of masonis, wrightis, Quarioris, smyths, barrowmen, cartaris, their servandis; and for stanis, lyme, sand, tymmer, Irne, lead, lokis, keis, bandis with uthiris necessaris for the

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. v. p. 389.

bigging and reparatioun of the new hous beside the Abbay of Halyrudehouse; and for hors mete and other reparatiouns as is contenit in the said Maister of werkis compt buke at mair lenth, and particularlie written in the samyn fra the 21st day of August the yeir of God 1529 to the 27th day of August the yeir of God 1530 inclusive . . . £1568, 17s. 3d." The details of John Scrymgeour's intromissions are to be found in the first volume of the Master of Works' Accounts,[1] and the amount tallies with the corresponding entry in the Treasurer's Accounts. There are two other grants in the Treasurer's Accounts for the continuation of the operations at Holyrood in 1531-32; the details are given in the second volume of the Master of Works' Accounts, mixed up with sums spent on the other royal palaces: the total amount expended on Holyrood in between 1529 and 1532 seems to have been about £4500 Scots.[2]

The accounts are at great length and detailed to an amusing extent. The Master Mason paid all the men—masons, joiners, quarrymen, &c.—every fortnight, on Sunday as a rule, and at each "pay" the names of the men employed are entered. In some cases, however, the men worked in companies, and the entry against the wages paid reads: "John Meriliyon and his marrowis"—"marrow" is a good old Scotch word for companion which occurs in many of the ballads. Then with regard to the entry for "hors mete" quoted above—this refers to the corn and hay bought from a dealer, a woman, in the Canongate, for feeding the King's horses employed in carting material. The stone for building came partly from Ravelston, Niddry, and Craigmillar, but

[1] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. i. p. 2. The accounts are in MS., and the paging quoted is that of a transcript.

[2] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. v. p. 433, and vol. vi. p. 33.

the greater portion was brought by sea from Culross at the head of the Firth of Forth. This entails entries in the Accounts for payments to the quarrymen at Culross; to the men who carted the stone to the pier there; next to the "Ferrymen at the Ferry," the Queen's Ferry, who shipped the stone from Culross to Leith; and lastly, to the carriers who brought it from Leith to the Abbey. Sand and lime were brought from Couston and Gilmerton; the timber was, as in James IV.'s time, "eistland boards" —timber from the Baltic. Thomas Peblis still supplied the glass for the windows; it was partly white and partly "paintit" (stained glass). A French carver, called "Nycholau," was employed, and there are numerous accounts for iron work and painting.

As no plan of the building made at the time exists, there can be no absolute proof that the tower with four "roundis" at its corners, and which now forms the north-west portion of the modern Palace, was erected between 1529 and 1532. The entries in the account, however, all point in this direction. There is the following, which seems to prove that the building stood separated from the rest of the Palace. "Item, received from William Hyll, this 12th day of February, a great Iron gate, for the principal entrance, and drawbridge of the new Tower, with two great bolts for the closing of the slot of the said iron gate, and the great bar of the same."[1] The building now put up had therefore a separate entrance approached over a drawbridge. Then the relation of this new tower to the Palace built by James IV. is indicated by an entry which refers to the King's residing in a south tower while the building is going on.[2] The amount of iron work used in the tower is very noticeable. The great iron gate for the principal entrance has

[1] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. i. p. 45. [2] Ibid., p. 47.

already been referred to, and there are references to iron gates within the house itself. The most striking entries in the Accounts refer to the protection of the windows. "And so are furnished completely with Iron work all the whole 'lychtis' (windows) except a small light in the lowest chamber in the north-east round."[1] The number of these windows is given in an entry for the "complete painting and laying of the three Iron Gates and sixteen great Iron windows, with the rest of the windows and iron work with red lead and vermillion and ulay."[2] "Ulay" is an old Scotch rendering of the word oil. The weight of the iron supplied is specified. There occur also several entries bearing on the platform roof, and on its lead covering;[3] and the four "rounds" are mentioned both together and separately. "Nine oaken geistis" are purchased "for the roundis"[4] there is reference to the completing of the "two West roundis," and "to the 'pergyn' (cleansing) of the two East roundis." Ornamentation of the tower, externally, with heraldic devices must have been carried out, as there is a charge "for the laying with gold in paynting, callering, and for stuf to the two lyonis and torris upon the head of the two west roundis."[5] These lions and towers were evidently heraldic devices on the top of each of the two "rounds" which faced the entrance gate.

The presumption, therefore, is that the building carried out by James V. between 1529 and 1532 is the tower which now forms the north-west portion of the Palace. James V. has always been credited with the building of this part of the Palace, and the writers in the beginning of last century, such as Stark in the Picture of Edinburgh, mention that his

[1] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. ii. pp. 9, 31.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 76.
[3] Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 39, 44.
[4] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 6.
[5] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 59.

name could then be seen on the building. There are, however, no hints to be got from the building itself to assist in determining its exact date. The tower is so truly sixteenth-century work that it will not give up any of its secrets; in an age when murder by dagger and poison was one of the fine arts, walls that were not dumb were worse than useless. The walls as they now stand are a patchwork of stones of different quarries, hewed in different ways, evidently at varying dates. The windows have been quite plainly enlarged; while the lead roof bears the date "1828"; and the corbelled top is modern. There are certain facts which support the inference that the mention of a drawbridge means that this tower as built was a detached building, to some extent surrounded by a moat. The external walls are of the same strength, about seven feet, on all the four sides. Confirmation of the theory that the tower was at first protected by a moat is also afforded by Mr Oldrieve, formerly H.M. Inspector of Works, from the condition of the ground immediately to the north of the tower, when a heating-chamber was being formed there during the last alteration of the Palace. It was necessary to dig down as deep as the foundation of the tower walls, and it was through forced earth all the way; this loose soil may possibly have been thrown in to fill up the moat, when the ground was levelled during a subsequent alteration. It must be remembered that in these years Scotland was in a terribly unsettled condition, and that the King was at variance with the nobility, especially with the great family of Douglas. It is therefore not unlikely that the young King should build for himself a place of defence. This opinion receives support by a passage in Pitscottie's Chronicles. "Syne the next spring of the zeir (the

King) come to Edinburgh, and foundit ane fair palice in the Abbay of Hallierudhous, and ane great towre to himself to rest into quhane he plaisit to come to the toun."[1]

Not many years elapsed before James V. was again engaged in building operations at Holyrood House. It should be remembered that the Palace was now looked upon as *the* Royal Palace of Scotland, the house in which the king or the regent for the time being should reside. Maister John Scrymgeour's accounts for his second enlargement of the Palace are to be found in the fourth volume of the Accounts of the Master of Works, and from the book-keeping point of view they are most creditably made up. They bear to be for work executed from Saturday 27th June 1535, to Saturday 14th October 1536, inclusive, "in primis, for the biging (building) of the new foir werk, reforming and beting (improving) of the remanent of the Palace of Holyrood House, with the great foir hous, gardens, dykes (walls), biging, and repairing."[2] The accounts open with the cost of carting several thousand tons of lime from Cousland and Gilmerton, and building nine kilns for burning the lime. Then follows the charge for stone, which is termed "freestone," brought from various quarters not far distant—Preston, Barnbougle, Craigmillar, Cramond, and Niddry; there are the usual entries for Baltic and Swedish timber; for iron and slater and painter work; to Thomas Peblis for glass, and pages of detail of the wages of workmen. There is also a supplementary account from 14th October to 23rd December 1536, the whole charge amounting to £5766, 7s. 0d. (Scots), the largest sum spent on any of the three occasions in which building took place during the sixteenth

[1] Pitscottie, chap. xxii. p. 339. [2] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. iv.

century at the Palace. What effect all this building had on the Palace cannot be definitely stated, except that a new porch or gatehouse to the forecourt was erected; that gardens were laid out and enclosed in walls; that a new Palace Chapel was built; that a second kitchen was added, and that the whole house was remodelled. It appears as if James had become discontented with the Palace which his father had built, and especially with the gatehouse; that he reconstructed the former and rebuilt the latter altogether. This gatehouse or porch, which remained until 1753, must have been a building of considerable size, as is shown by the extent of the arcading on the wall of the Abbey Courthouse, against which it was built. A study of the accounts lead to the belief that the essential features of the Palace as shown in Gordon of Rothiemay's picture of 1647, and in his plan of Edinburgh, were the work of James V., and superseded that of his father. The most conspicuous feature of the Palace, as shown in this sketch, are the projecting windows. These are mentioned several times in the accounts, especially with reference to the iron casement sashes which "William Hyll, Smyth," provided for the "bois wundois."[1]

It may be well to refer particularly to the new chapel, built at this time, as this "Chapel within the Palace of Holyroodhouse," so often referred to in the history of the Reformation period, is constantly confused with the Abbey Church, and also with the chapel of James IV.'s Palace. It seems that the erection of the tower in 1529-32 must have cut into James IV.'s Chapel, which had been at the north-west corner of the house, as there are in the accounts for 1529-30 an entry "for two oak trees for propping the

[1] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. ii. pp. 9, 31.

Chapel,"[1] and there follows an entry "for the down-taking of a part of the Chapel roof."[2] When the second period of building begins in 1535, this building comes to be referred to as the "auld Chapell,"[3] while the same entry, one for slating work, also mentions "the new Chapell."[4] This new chapel, as far as can be traced in the Accounts, seems to have been constructed out of the apartments erected by James IV. for his Queen;[5] it was approached by the "great stair." The accounts for glass, which are much detailed, assign to the new chapel a great square window and a bow window in the west front, and two windows on the south front "be west the chancellary wall."[6] This leads to the belief that this chapel, in which Queen Mary was married to Darnley, occupied the small south tower shown in the sketch of 1647, the south windows looking into the Chancellor's Court. The windows were ornamented with "borders" of stained glass,[7] and there was erected in the chapel "the Kingis gret tymmer armis," emblazoned in gold and azure.[8] The chapel must have been an important apartment, suitable for a State ceremonial. A new Chapel-Royal being provided, the "auld Chapell" became the hall in which the Privy Council held its meetings.

There are three curious entries in the Master of Works' Accounts which refer to the stone slabs with coats-of-arms which adorned the west front of James's Tower, until taken down in the beginning of last century. The first entry is for "drink-silver" for the barrowmen who conveyed the "great arms" from St Paul's Work to the Abbey,

[1] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. i. p. 99.
[2] Ibid., p. 103.
[3] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 134.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 142.
[6] Ibid., p. 138; see also p. 130.
[7] Ibid., p. 140.
[8] Ibid., p. 141.

"so that it might not be hurt by being carried in a cart";[1] the second is a fee to Sir John Gilmour "for drawing of the armis and for his counsel thairto";[2] then there is a payment to Andrew Lees, goldsmith, for "his workmanship in lead of the King's Arms and an image of St Andrew."[3] The two panels have been reproduced within recent years, and now display the Arms of James V. and his Queen. The original slab which bore the Royal Arms has been found in fragments, pieced together, and may now be seen within the Abbey Chapel. Sir John Gilmour did his work well, for the Scottish unicorn on the original slab is a noble animal, and the thistle is a specially vigorous example of that plant; below the Scottish arms is James V.'s name, still legible. There is also a payment "to painters for gilding the great Stone Arms, on the east quarter of the Palace, that was put up of before."[4] The arms on the east side would be visible as long as the tower was an independent building, but covered up when the tower was connected with the Palace buildings by Charles II.

There is a curious circumstance in connection with this second addition to Holyrood carried out by James V. There are no entries in the Treasurer's Accounts for money paid for it; all the information regarding the building is derived from the accounts of the Master of Works. James drew the money for this and for other extravagances, to which he then gave way, not from the Scottish Exchequer, but from a levy on the Scottish Church Lands, which he forced the Pope, Clement VII., to grant him. The nominal purpose of the grant was for the establishment of the College of Session, carried out in 1532; but the

[1] Master of Works' Accounts, vol. iv. p. 92.
[2] Ibid., p. 93.
[3] Ibid., p. 149.
[4] Ibid., vol. v. p. 45.

levy put James in funds, and enabled him to rebuild Holyrood.[1] In the last year of his life, James improved his new chapel by erecting an organ gallery and building "a pair of organs."[2]

Towards the end of his reign James V. carried out an extension of the royal park of Holyrood House, which ought to endear him to the citizens of Edinburgh. In 1541, George Purves received £100 for "lands taken into the park of Halyrudhous";[3] and next year the lands of Duddingstone were bought from Sir David Murray of Balvaird for the sum of £400.[4] The whole King's Park so enlarged, and including Arthur's Seat, seems to have been fenced in by a wall as shown in the sketch of 1544.

Having completed the rebuilding of his Palace of Holyrood House, the King turned his attention to marriage. James's subjects were anxious that he should give up the wayward courses in which he had indulged and settle down; they much desired him to marry and get an heir to the throne. He had been offered many princesses to wife, among them Mary of England, and in the end a contract of marriage was arranged with Mary, daughter of the Duke of Vendome. James sailed from Kirkcaldy with a small fleet in September 1536, to bring home his bride; but being landed in France, he set off in supposed incognito to St Quentin to see his fiancée before declaring himself.[5] What followed is told in different ways, but at any rate James did not marry Mary of Vendome, but turned his attention to Madelaine, a daughter of the King of

[1] Sco Archbishops of St Andrews, vol. iii. pp. 217.
[2] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. viii. pp. 55, 151, 154.
[3] Ibid., vol. vii. p. 429. [4] Ibid., vol. viii. p. 55.
[5] Leslie's History, p. 151.

France. To her he was married with great pomp in the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame in Paris, on 1st January 1537. On the 19th May the King and Queen arrived in Scotland, and landing at Leith proceeded to Holyrood Palace. Queen Madelaine and the story of her beauty and graciousness, and her early death, are told in prose and verse; she touched the heart of Scotland. When she set foot on Scottish soil, the old chronicler relates "that she bowit and inclinit hir self to the earth and tuik the mullis thairof and kissit."[1] While another declares that "through her loving countenance and comlie behaviour at her first arrival she conquered the love and hearty good-will of all the nobles of the realm and of the people also."[2] But Madelaine was too tender a plant to stand the cold blasts of Scotland, and she died within forty days of her landing; and James buried her in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

A second time James sought a wife in France, and now his choice fell on Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville. She landed in Scotland at Balcomie, in Fife, and was married to the King in the Cathedral of St Andrews on the 10th June 1538. In the following February Mary was crowned in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.[3] Their married life was not a long one, nor did things go smoothly with the royal couple. In 1539 the Queen gave birth to a son, and next year another boy was born, but the two children died within two days of one another and were buried in Holyrood Abbey. And there too James was laid, when he turned his face to the wall and died a broken man, on the 14th December 1542, in his thirty-first year. He left as his successor a child

[1] Leslie, p. 153. [2] Pitscottie, chap. xxviii.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrences, p. 23.

of five days old, Mary Stewart; it is her name which is so closely associated with Holyrood House.

There is an interesting account of King James V. and of the Court of Holyrood to be found in the report of an English ambassador who came north in the beginning of 1540. Henry VIII. was anxious about the course which affairs were taking at this time in Scotland; besides, he was the type of man who is always prolific of advice to young relatives. Here was his only sister's son, a weak young man, who required guidance very much, so Henry did his duty, as a "very dear uncle" ought to do,—the wording is Henry's own. He sent to Holyrood one of the most capable of the servants of the English Crown, Sir Ralph Sadler, who for thirty years was often named as envoy to Scotland. Sadler took with him, as a token of Henry's affection for his dear nephew, six English geldings — James's love for horses being well known. The English King's instructions to his ambassador are set forth in a long memorandum.[1] Sadler was to whisper in James's ear that his most trusted adviser, Cardinal Beaton, was a very wicked man, and was to hand to the Scottish King, if he thought it advisable, letters of Beaton's which had been intercepted, and which proved that the Cardinal was a traitor to his King. Then Sadler was to point out how reprehensible it was for a King—especially a monarch who had good Tudor blood in his veins—to add to his income by having "into his hands numbers of sheep, and such other vile and mean things." And especially he was to urge that instead of making money out of wool, it would far better befit his nephew's kingly dignity if he were to follow his uncle's noble example, and lay hands on the broad lands of the Scottish monasteries.

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 3.

Sir Ralph Sadler and his train duly arrived in Edinburgh in February 1540, and after some difficulty the Provost, whose duty it was to find a lodging for the English Ambassador, was able to procure a house which in some measure satisfied the English visitors. One of the first points which was evident to Sadler was that the Scottish King was "of force driven to use bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm,"[1] because among the nobility there were none "that has any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience."

Sadler was conducted to the Palace by the Lyon King of Arms—the celebrated Sir David Lindsay of The Mount, poet and diplomatist—with whom were Rothesay Herald, Sir Walter Ogilvy, and Captain Borthwick. The English Ambassador was taken into the Royal Chapel, where the King was hearing Mass. James kneeled under a cloth of estate, and a crowd of the higher clergy and of noblemen kneeled around him; Sadler "was placed in a piré, or seat," behind the King. Mass over, the King received Sadler and said many complimentary things to him, expressing his great affection for his uncle; he appointed the next forenoon for an audience. On the following day Sadler was again conducted to the chapel; the King was not attending service, but the Queen, Mary of Guise, "was hearing a sermon in French, accompanied with a number of ladies and gentlewomen." The service being finished, the Lyon King presented the English Ambassador to the Queen, as he was charged by Henry to congratulate Mary on her marriage. Then Sadler was taken to the King's privy chamber, where he had a long interview with the Scottish King, opening up all the

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 47.

points of Henry's instructions, without, however, in any way persuading James. On the following Sunday Sadler proceeded to the Palace to present the horses which his master had sent to the Scottish King. He was led into the chapel as on his former visits, and found the Queen "at a sermon"; thence he was conducted to the King, who passed with him "into another chamber, where out of a window he looked into a fair court, and thither were the horses brought." One of Sadler's attendants showed off the horses' paces, and James expressed himself as much pleased with the gift. Then the King "went forth to his dining-chamber, washed and sat down, and so bade the lords take me with them to dinner." It was the Cardinal whom Sadler had come North expressly to accuse who took him by the arm and led him to the dining-room, and there the English Ambassador dined along with the Cardinal and two bishops and the noblemen and gentlemen of the Court. Sadler did not persuade the Scottish King to dismiss Beaton, nor to confiscate the lands of the Scottish Church — not even to sell the ten thousand sheep which James is said to have possessed in Ettrick Forest. The English Ambassador did, however, gain much information about Scotland and Scottish politicians, which proved of advantage to him in his future visits to the Court of Holyrood.

There are some of the events of the reign enacted within Holyrood Palace which tell very vividly the tendencies of the time and the course which the King followed. In the great struggle of the Reformation James adhered steadfastly to the old Church; he had early in his reign estranged the Scottish nobility, and had therefore almost perforce to lean on the clergy for support. In August 1534 a Commission for the trial of

heretics was held in Holyrood Abbey, James Hay, Bishop of Ross, acting as Commissioner, by authority of the Primus, the Archbishop of St Andrews.[1] The King is recorded to have sat as judge, clothed in scarlet. Among the accused some recanted and "burned their faggots"; but two men — Norman Gourlay and David Straiton — refused to forswear their opinions, and were burned at the stake at the Cross of Greenside. Some years after, in February 1539, a similar trial took place at Holyrood, when five Protestants were condemned: two of them were Dominican Friars; two were Stirling men, a priest and a citizen; the fifth was the Vicar of Dollar. On the same day on which they were condemned they were burned on the Castlehill of Edinburgh.[2] The religious question was made more difficult for James, as across the Border his uncle, Henry VIII., had broken with the Papacy.

Another group of the Court ceremonials of the time give sure indication of the course of European politics. It was the time of the great struggle between the Emperor Charles V. and France for first place in Europe — the Pope and Henry VIII. of England also joining in the strife. The support of Scotland was bid for by both sides, as the northern kingdom could give valuable assistance by at least keeping England occupied by invading its borders. The first monarch to pay James a compliment was his uncle, Henry VIII., King of England. In February 1535 Lord William Howard, famed on the West Border as Belted Will Howard, arrived with a train of thirty horse, and in the Abbey of Holyrood

[1] Spottiswoode, vol. i. p. 132.
[2] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 355.

conferred on James the Order of the Garter with great solemnity.[1] This honour was followed by a higher one, when Pope Pius III. sent as his ambassador Cardinal Campeggio, to be the bearer of a cap and sword which had been blessed on Christmas Eve. The two chief champions in the great European struggle of the time could not lag behind; so the King of France conferred on James the Order of St Michael, and the Emperor the insignia of the proudest Order in Europe — that of the Golden Fleece.

It would be very pleasing to the patriotic Scot if the reign of James V. could be dropped out of Scottish history, for, as George Buchanan phrases it—and Buchanan lived through the reign—"such an univeral licentiousness had overren all."[2] A reformation in Church and State was long overdue. It is dreary work to read the records of the time and to discover that the governing classes — King, nobles, and clergy — had as a body lost touch with religion and patriotism, and were pursuing their own selfish ends in a strangely reckless fashion. The object for which they were striving was largely the revenues derived from the lands belonging to the great religious houses, which comprised such an inordinate proportion of Scotland. James V.'s record in this respect is given by Bishop Lesley, one of the best and ablest of the great Churchmen who adhered to the old Church at the time of the Reformation: "And because the patrimonie thereof"— the Crown revenues —"was small and could not sustain his charges, therefore he [James V.] nominated four of his bastard sons, being but infants, to

[1] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 325.

[2] Buchanan's History, chap. xiv., last paragraph.

the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, the Priories of St Andrews, Melrose, and Coldingham, and received the whole fruit thereof during all the days of his life, which was greater profit to him than the whole revenue of the Crown."[1]

[1] Bishop Leslie's History, p. 130.

CHAPTER V.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERY.

The Holyrood to which James V. brought his fragile young bride, Madelaine of France, in 1537, must have been a most dignified group of buildings, as it contained the principal Royal Palace, and in close touch with it one of the wealthiest and most beautiful of the Scottish religious houses. The greatest glory of Holyrood lasted for seven years only—from 1537 to 1544—and it may be worth while to attempt to lay out the buildings of the Holyrood group during this her greatest period. The material out of which to construct this is very scanty, as it consists mainly of the coloured sketch in the British Museum, already referred to in connection with the Monastery.

The precincts of Abbey and Palace were reached at the foot of the Canongate, where the Gate House stood across the highway, immediately to the north of what is now the Abbey Court House; the arcading on the wall of this building shows how large the porch had been. Whether the Gate House of the Abbey had stood here before the Palace was built, is not known. The porch admitted into the Fore Court, an enclosure nearly square, formed by the Palace on the east and by walls on the other sides converging on the porch on the west. North from the porch entering from the gardens of the Palace

was the tennis court, a building of some size; and gardens with trees, enclosed with a wall, stretched all round the north, east, and south of Palace and Monastery. The grey outline of James V.'s Tower is shown distinctly in the sketch, and running south from it buildings of different heights, of grey stone like the Tower. East from the Tower, and separated from it by a space, is the Abbey Church, with its two square western towers topped with spires; the church shows nave, aisle, north transept, and chancel. The monastic buildings are seen to the south of the church, and there are buildings to the east also. There appears to be a covered way connecting the Palace with the cloisters of the Monastery.

During the period between the commencement of the buildings of the Palace and the destruction of the Monastery—*i.e.*, from 1501 to 1544—four abbots bore sway in Holyrood Abbey. Bellenden, who had done much for the adornment of the Abbey Church, was succeeded in the early years of the sixteenth century by George Crichton, who in 1522 was promoted to the See of Dunkeld. Abbot Crichton figures on more than one occasion as an Auditor of the National Accounts, but his name is connected with the Abbey chiefly as the donor of a lectern, which is one of the conspicuous memorials of the Abbey Church which remains. William Douglas succeeded Crichton, having been translated from Coldingham; he died in 1528, and had as his successor Robert Cairncross, formerly Provost of the Collegiate Church of Corstorphine. Cairncross was an important man in his day, acting as National Treasurer on more than one occasion; he surrendered the Abbot's mitre when in 1538 or 1539 he was made Bishop of Ross. To the men of the present day it seems strange that the national finances should have been so largely, at this time,

under the charge of the higher Scottish clergy; it is testimony to their education and knowledge of affairs. When the important office of Abbot of Holyrood became vacant by the translation of Cairncross, James V. appointed to the vacant mitre his illegitimate son Robert, a boy of seven years, having already bestowed the two noble Abbeys of Kelso and Coldingham, and the greatest of Scottish Abbeys, St Andrews, on three other natural sons. Lord Robert Stewart joined the Reformers in 1559, and married in 1561. His sister, Queen Mary, bestowed on him the Crown's third of the lands of Holyrood, and also lands in Orkney and Shetland; he was created Earl of Orkney in 1581.

James V. remained a faithful son of the Church to his death, but his actions did not a little to make Scotland ripe for the Reformation. He died on the 14th December 1542, in his thirty-first year, leaving as the heir to the throne a daughter, an infant of a week old, the famous Mary Stewart. On the 3rd January following, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was elected Regent, or, as he is usually styled, "Lord Governor," being chosen according to Scottish practice because he was, after the infant Queen, the nearest to the throne, and not because he possessed any qualities which fitted him for the position. The task before him was exceedingly difficult — the ruling classes being divided into two parties, one desiring alliance with England, the other the continuance of the ancient league with France, and both alike preferred their own interests to the interests of Scotland. To complicate matters, Henry VIII., one of the most overbearing and imperious of men, was the neighbouring king, and he saw that a favourable opportunity had occurred for carrying out the old policy inaugurated by the Plantagenets of adding Scotland to

the English Crown. Henry demanded that the baby Queen of Scotland should be betrothed to his young son Edward, and that she be handed over to his keeping. He sent north to promote his plans Sir Ralph Sadler, who, as told in the last chapter, had already served an apprenticeship in Scottish affairs. Sadler's letters give a most vivid description of the Scotland of the time—the Regent weak and facile; the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, with a fine diplomatic disregard of truth; the Scottish nobles each fighting for his own hand. The Regent and the Privy Council were established at Holyrood, the Queen-Mother and her baby at Linlithgow Palace. Sadler visited Mary of Guise at Linlithgow, and gives a graphic account of his introduction to the baby Queen, whose spirit still haunts most old Scottish houses, and Holyrood especially. Sadler's visit took place in March 1543, and the young Mary Stewart was now nearly three months old. The Queen-Mother waxed wroth to the English envoy, because the Regent, the Earl of Arran, talked about her "child as not like to live." "She caused me to go with her to the chamber where the child was, and showed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of her clothes that I might see her naked. I assure your Majesty it is as goodly a child as I have seen of her age, and as likely to live, with the grace of God."[1] The baby so introduced to the page of history without any dress at all, lived to be one of the most skilfully dressed women of her time.

At first the English party got their own way, and in August 1543 a treaty of peace between England and Scotland, and an agreement for the betrothal of Mary and Edward, were made, and confirmation by the Governor

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 88.

"was solemnly done at the High Mass, and solemnly sung with shalms and sackbuts in the Abbey Church of the Holyroodhouse."[1] The agreement with England did not stand for many months. It was hateful to the Queen-Mother; to the Church, headed by Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the ablest politician in Scotland; and was opposed to the strong prejudices of the majority of the people. The Regent Arran was forced to yield and repudiate all the articles of the treaty.

The "revolt" of Arran, as Henry VIII. called it, drove the English King to absolute fury, and he meditated a striking revenge. A strong force of veteran soldiers was collected at Newcastle in the spring of 1544 under an experienced commander, the Earl of Hertford, and a fleet was gathered at Tynemouth to convey the army to the Forth; while a large body of light horsemen was assembled on the Borders to invade Scotland by land. The King's purpose is made plain by the instructions sent to Hertford by the English Privy Council. Hertford is instructed not to attempt to hold the country, but "only burn Edinburgh town, and so deface it as to leave a memory for ever of the vengeance of God upon their falsehood and disloyalty; do his best without long tarrying to beat down the Castle; sack Holyrood House, and sack, burn, and subvert Leith, and all the towns and villages round, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword where resistance is made."[2] The English fleet appeared in the Firth of Forth on 4th May 1544, and the army landed from it at Granton Crag. There are among the English Records three separate accounts of the expedition, and these agree in all important particulars. The English army, having disembarked at

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 270.
[2] Henry VIII. Papers, vol. xix. p. 199.

Granton, marched eastward to seize Leith, it being necessary to possess a port at which supplies could be landed.[1] At the Water of Leith a force of six thousand Scots under the Regent and Cardinal Beaton disputed the passage, but after a short skirmish the Regent and the Cardinal thought it advisable to retire to Linlithgow, and their army melted away. The English took up quarters in Leith, which they found "fuller of riches than we expected any Scottish town to have been"; the town was thoroughly sacked, and "in the haven two fair ships of the late Scottish King's, the *Salamon* and the *Unycorne*," were added to the English navy. During the night the Provost and leading citizens of Edinburgh waited on Hertford and asked for terms. Unconditional surrender was demanded, so the citizens prepared to defend their town. The coloured sketch already referred to as showing Holyrood, probably represents the English Army, infantry, horse, and artillery, on its march from Leith entering the Burgh of Canongate by the Water Gate. From the Canongate, the English attacked the Netherbow Port with artillery and carried it by storm. They then marched up the High Street of Edinburgh and attacked the Castle, but the fire of its guns was not to be resisted, and they gave up the attempt to take it, the engineer officers declaring the Castle to be impregnable. Having fired the town, the English withdrew to Leith. During the night the citizens of Edinburgh met, elected a new Provost, and prepared to defend the town, repairing the breaches at the Netherbow with stones and turf. But it was of no avail; inexperienced men, however brave, deserted by their leaders, had no chance of success against experienced soldiers, well led. Next day the city was again stormed. The town for

[1] Henry VIII. Papers, vol. xix. p. 298.

three days was given up to fire and sword. "Also we burned the Abbey called Holy Rood House and the Palace adjoining to the same."[1] Then the light horsemen having joined the English army, the country for miles round was ravished. This accomplished, Hertford marched back to England by land, burning a broad strip of country as he went, while the English fleet destroyed the coast towns on either side of the Firth. This was the winning way in which Henry VIII. wooed Mary Stewart for his son Edward.

There is no doubt as to what the Monastery of Holyrood suffered at the hands of the English; it was pillaged of everything which had not been removed to a place of safety before the arrival of the English. Then all that would burn was destroyed by fire. The Church of the Abbey was patched up in a fashion within a few years; the Monastery was never restored. Times were evil for the Church, and the Abbot, Lord Robert Stewart, was a mere boy, one of the sons of James V., whom that monarch had provided for by making him an Abbot while still a child. The Abbot lacked the means, even if he possessed the desire, to restore his holy place. There are some memorials of the Abbey Church which remain and which are very interesting. The most important of these from the archæological point of view, are the fragments of stained glass which were found on the top of the vaulting of the south aisle of the nave when the roof was repaired in 1909. It is a proof of the utter neglect to which the Abbey Church was exposed for centuries, that these fragments of glass should have lain unnoticed for three and a half centuries. The pieces have been carefully cleaned, most artistically arranged, and

[1] Henry VIII. Papers, vol. xix. p. 332.

put into a frame, which is placed in the east window of the long Picture Gallery. These fragments are a welcome addition to the very scanty collection of ancient stained glass which Scotland possesses. The glass seems to have come from the lancet windows of the clerestory on the south side of the Church. It is of high quality and fine colour, and is believed to be mostly thirteenth and fourteenth century glass, probably made in York. The glass will be admired by all lovers of stained glass.[1]

Another most interesting memorial of the Abbey Church is the Ordinale, used in the daily services of the Chapter House. Where this book has been hidden since the destruction of the Abbey is not known, but it has now passed into the loving care of a well-known Scottish antiquary, through whose liberality the most important portions of this Service-book have been printed for the members of the Old Edinburgh Club.[2] The book, which is bound in oak-boards, covered with stamped calf, seems to have been a copy made about 1450, for Holyrood, from a Service-book in use in one of the Augustinian monasteries in England. "Its principal contents are Kalendar, martyrology, gospels and homilies for reading in chapter, the history of the foundation of the Abbey, the rule of St Augustine, an ordinale of Services throughout the year, and the manuale or service book of occasional rites, which includes the visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, and various blessings. To these have been prefixed a form of bidding prayer for benefactors, among them several of the Scottish kings, forms of excommunication and absolution, with preces for the day hours. A litany and an inventory of the goods

[1] See Paper by Francis C. Eeles, Proc. S.A.S., vol. xlix. p. 81.

[2] The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol. vii.

and ornaments of the Church have been added at the end, the latter in 1493." [1]

There are also extant memorials of Holyrood Abbey preserved by other means, being part of the booty taken when the Monastery was sacked, and carried to England by officers of the English army.

There is still to be seen in a quaint little church in the vicinity of St Albans a relic of Holyrood Church, in the shape of a brass lectern from which the lessons are still read. In Hertford's army was an officer called Richard Lee; he went to Scotland "as devisour of the fortifications to be made," and was one of forty-five officers who were knighted for distinguished services rendered during the Scottish campaign. Among the loot which fell to the share of this engineer was this brass lectern, which he presented to the parish church of St Stephen's, about a mile from St Albans; and there it still remains. It bears the inscription, "Georgius Creichtoun Episcopus Dunkeldensis," and appears to have been the gift of Bishop Crichton to Holyrood Abbey Church,—he was Abbot of Holyrood before he was created Bishop of Dunkeld. The old reading-desk looks quite at home in the quaint little church which has itself seen so many centuries, and all the changes which the centuries have brought.

Sir Richard Lee also took as part of his share of the plunder the "great brazen font," which had been presented to the Abbey by Abbot Bellenden,—this engineer officer, after the manner of his trade, must have had a fancy for solid metal. The font he presented to what is now the Cathedral Church of St Albans, but in the disturbances of the Civil War of Charles I.'s time the font disappeared, and was probably melted.

[1] Introduction, by F. C. Eeles, p. i.

There was another officer in Hertford's army who helped himself to what he could get, and whose tastes differed from Sir Richard Lee's. His name was Sir William Norris; he was a leading man in the Lancashire of his time, and the owner of the estate of Speke Hall on the Mersey. He carried off from Holyrood a considerable amount of wood-panelling, which he used to adorn his Hall, which still stands, and is still inhabited. "The Hall is completely panelled in wood, that at the upper end being especially notable, both for its deep moulding and free standing fluted pillars, and for the tradition that it formed part of the loot of Holyrood Palace in 1544."[1] Norris must have been a man of taste and education, for he also helped himself to some volumes from the library of the Monastery; these he marked "Gotten and brought away by me William Norris of the Speke H., the 11th day of May aforeside." Fourteen of these volumes have found a home in the Liverpool Athenæum.[2]

It is much more difficult to say how far the Palace of Holyrood House was destroyed. Before the English invasion took place, the Regent Arran was in residence in the Palace;[3] when Hertford landed, Arran's wife and family withdrew to the Castle. After the English marched south the Regent went to live at Linlithgow Palace, and then proceeded to Stirling. As far as can be discovered, Arran did not again reside in Holyrood during the ten years he continued to hold office. But the Palace was certainly not altogether uninhabitable, and it may be conjectured that the fire destroyed the less substantial buildings, but that the enormously thick walls of James V.'s Tower, at any

[1] History of County Lancaster, vol. iii. p. 138.

[2] Ibid., p. 135. I have to thank Dr Wallace-James of Haddington for calling my attention to Sir William Norris's loot.

[3] Sadler, vol. i. p. 65.

rate, resisted the burning, there being very little in the structure which fire could harm. Certain it is that the Treasurer's Accounts show that within two months of the English visit "a new tower lock was put on the new tower door of Holyrudhous," and that there was provided "six barrels of beer for furnessing the Palace of Holyrudhous, for certain men-of-war keeping the said Palace, because it was understood that the Queen and lords with her suld have come to Edinburgh to hold a parliament there."[1] The latter entry shows that the English were scarcely out of the country before the two Scottish factions were manœuvring against one another, as they continued to do for years to come; the Regent had placed a garrison in the Palace to prevent the Queen-Mother's party taking possession.

During the years that immediately follow, Holyrood passes almost altogether out of Scottish story. In 1545 there is an entry in the Accounts for "conveying broken "bells and certain lead from the Abbey to the Castle"; and in 1546 the carriage "of 60 stone of lead from the roof of the great hall of the Abbey sent to St Andrews." The Castle of St Andrews was being held during this year, 1546, against the Regent by Norman Leslie and his companions, who had murdered Cardinal Beaton; and the lead was taken from the great hall—probably the refectory of the Abbey—to be made into shot to be fired against the Castle of St Andrews. The savage war in which the great Border abbeys—Melrose, Kelso, and Coldingham—were burned by the English was going on during these years. In September 1547 Edinburgh was again occupied by the English, after the Scottish army had suffered a woeful defeat at Pinkie, six miles east from Edinburgh.

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. viii. pp. 299-304.

The English were commanded in 1547 by the same general as in 1544, but he had now assumed the title of Duke of Somerset, and was acting as Lord Protector during the minority of Edward VI.; Henry VIII. had died in January 1547. On this occasion Somerset spared the city of Edinburgh, as the chronicler of the expedition states: "My Lord's grace for considerations moving him to pity, having all this while"—the time he had remained in camp near Leith—"spared Edinborowe from hurt, did so leave it, but Leith and the ships still burning."[1] The Monastery of Holyrood, however, did receive some attention from the English army. "There stood S.W., about a quarter of a mile from our camp, a monastery, they called it Hollyroode Abbey. Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne got license to suppress it; whereupon these commissioners making first their visitation there, they found the monks all gone; but the church and much part of the house well covered with lead, and had down the bells (which were but two) and, according to the statute, did somewhat disgrace the house. As touching the monks, because they were gone, they put them to their pensions at large." It may be explained that the phraseology in this quotation[1] is the same as is used in the documents relating to the suppression of the English monasteries, which occupied the energies of Henry VIII. during the latter years of his reign. When a monastery was to be suppressed, two commissioners were sent to make a visitation and give in a report regarding the inmates and the possessions of the religious house. During this English invasion of 1547 the Palace, as distinguished from the Monastery, was not injured; that is stated distinctly in Holinshed's 'Chronicles.'[2]

[1] Diary of W. Patten, Londones, p. 82.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 837.

Although Arran as Regent did not occupy Holyrood Palace, the gardens were kept up—at least wages were regularly paid to "John Morrison, gardener"; and in 1550 there is a charge for "carrying of tapestry from the Castle to the Abbey, the time that the Vidame was there," so that a portion of the house at any rate must have been in good enough order to receive a guest, else tapestry would not have been hung in it. Arran must, however, have had a house within the City of Edinburgh, as "my Lord Governor's hous was hung with tapestry out of the Castle," for the marriage of a daughter which took place in 1549. In 1551 we discover that "My Lord Governor" had taken a feu from the priests of the Kirk of Field, and here he built the house which afterwards was bought by the Town Council of Edinburgh in which to set up its infant college, which, in course of the centuries, was to develop into the University of Edinburgh.

All through the years during which the Earl of Arran was Regent, there was a power which was usually in opposition to him, and was always in favour of the French alliance —the strong will and business capacity of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Lorraine, a daughter of the great French House of Guise. An intrigue was carried on persistently to have her appointed Regent in place of the Earl of Arran, although such a step was opposed to the strong prejudice which the Scots had against a female Regent. At last, in 1554, Arran yielded to pressure; he was induced to visit France, and came under the blandishments of the French Court. He was infefted in the Duchy of Châtelherault, his son receiving the post of commander of the Scots Guard. Arran in future figures in Scottish history as "The Duk" —the only duke that Scotland could boast of; and the

Queen-Mother became ruler of Scotland, a position which few could envy her, for the times were very difficult.

The newly appointed Regent, the Queen-Mother, at once proceeded to restore Holyrood and make it fit for her residence. Since her husband's death she had probably lived in the house on the Castlehill of Edinburgh, latterly known as the Guise House, taken down some sixty years ago for a site for the Free Church Assembly Hall. The work of restoring Holyrood was partially completed by 12th October 1554, when Sir William Macdowell, Master of Works, was paid £1796, 16s. 2d. "for work done at Holyrudhous."[1] There is a perplexing entry in the same page of the Accounts: "Item to the laird of Craigmillar for lead and carriage of the same to theik the great Tower with, £268, 14s. 10d." Can this mean that during the rough years that had passed, the lead had been stripped off the roof of James V.'s tower to be made into shot, as it had been torn by Scot and English alike from the Monastery? So the Queen Regent repaired the damage done by the English army in 1544, and kept Yule at Holyrood House, which for ten years had been deserted by the Court. The Canons of the Chapel Royal came from Stirling, bringing with them "the relics of her Grace's Chapel Royal," so that they might conduct the Christmas services; these would be held in the chapel of the Palace. The old custom, which goes back long before the building of the Palace, that the King should keep his Christmas at Holyrood, was revived, and the Queen-Mother took her place as Governor.

The Queen-Mother continued her improvements on the Palace down to the time when the trouble of the Reformation became acute. In 1558 there are in the Accounts a

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. x. p. 240.

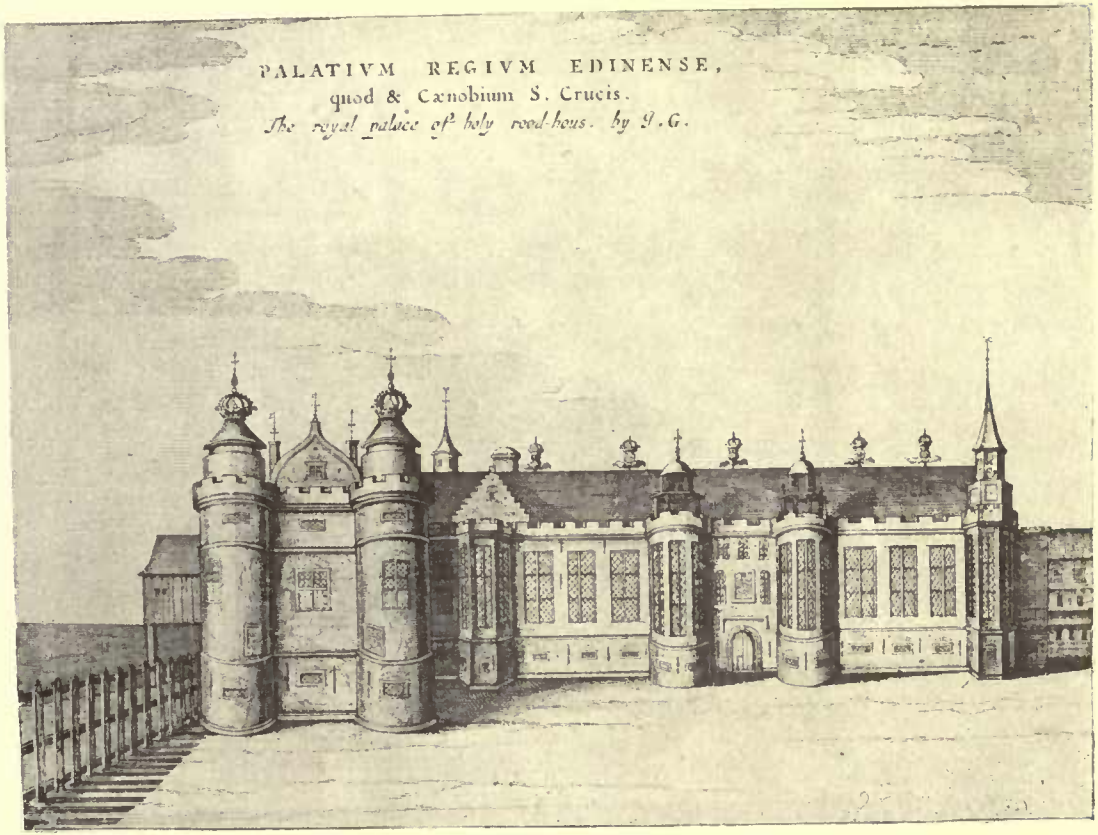
further sum for work done at the Palace: an entry for erecting a "pair of Butts"; for cleaning out the "Stank" or pond in the south garden; and for the purchase of "Dean Abercrumby's Yarde in the N.W. side of the Palice," out of which was to be formed a garden on the north side.[1] But the most interesting entry in the Accounts is a smaller item in the early months of 1559, which probably is payment for the decoration of the ceiling of the Audience Chamber on the second floor of James V.'s Tower. The heraldic scheme of decoration of this ceiling is one of the most interesting features of Holyrood House. The ceiling is formed of oak, and is divided into sixteen panels, each panel containing in relief a coat-of-arms properly blazoned. The intention is to declare by heraldry the union of the Stewarts with the families of Valois and Lorraine. In the centre, at the intersection of the panels, are the arms of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Lorraine, quartered in a lozenge, to show her widowhood. To the right are the arms of her son-in-law, the Dauphin of France, to whom Mary Stewart had just been married, and above, the arms of his father, Henry II. of France; to the left, the arms of her daughter Mary, Queen of Scotland, now Dauphiness of France, with the arms of Mary's father, James V. of Scotland, in the upper panel. The remaining panels, with one exception, contain the arms of James V. and his wife, Mary of Guise. The ceiling must have been decorated between 24th April 1558 and 10th July 1559, that being the period during which Mary Stewart was Dauphiness of France; she was married on the former date, and became Queen of France on the latter.

How extensive were the alterations and improvements

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. x. pp. 409, 345, 294.

carried out by the Queen-Mother on Holyrood Palace it is impossible to say. The probability is that she incorporated James V.'s Tower with the great quadrangle of the Palace, filling up the moat, and doing away with the drawbridge; she seems, besides, to have made Holyrood Palace a more pleasant place of residence by laying out gardens on both north and south sides. As a daughter of France, Mary would naturally try to adapt Holyrood Palace to the fashion of the great French chateaux of the time. The church of the Abbey seems also to have been restored in some measure so as to make it fit for worship. At any rate, it is known that during the hard struggle between the Queen-Mother and the Lords of the Congregation, which was carried on so bitterly during the summer and autumn of 1559, the Abbey Church was at one time used for Protestant, and at another for Roman Catholic worship. "Shortly after her coming to the Abbey of Holyroodhous, she (the Queen-Mother) caused Mass to be said first in her own chapel, and after that in the Abbey, where the altars had before been cast down."[1] The Palace, as restored by Mary of Guise, was the house in which her celebrated daughter, Mary of Scots, lived during the years in which she reigned in Scotland.

[1] Knox's History (Laing), vol. i. p. 391.



"THE ROYAL PALACE OF HOLY ROOD-HOUSE. By J. G."

FRONT OF JAMES V.'s PALACE, by J. Gordon of Rothiemay, 1647.
From copy in Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

CHAPTER VI.

QUEEN MARY COMES TO HOLYROOD AS THE "WIDOW OF FRANCE."

THE Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, was not fated to enjoy many peaceful days, or much happiness, in Holyrood House after she took possession of it as Regent. She was a woman who commands respect for her high spirit and ability, but she was an autocrat at a time when the Scots were seeking after freedom, civil and religious; she was a loyal supporter of the Roman Catholic Church, while her subjects—the best and ablest of them—had imbibed the doctrines and spirit of the Reformation; and like the noble Frenchwoman that she was, she held to the French Alliance, while the ruling class in Scotland had turned their eyes to England as the natural ally of Scotland. As Regent she also made the fatal mistake of putting aside the Scottish nobles, and trying to rule the country through her French followers. And so the discontent in Scotland became more and more bitter, until in 1559 it culminated in civil war, and in those outbreaks of the mobs of the towns, which destroyed so many of the most famous of the Scottish churches and monasteries. Mary also alienated those who would naturally have supported her in this crisis, by making agreements with her opponents and then breaking them. Her grandson, James VI., the

Scottish Solomon, used to shake his wise head at his grandmother's reply to the Lords of the Covenant when they reminded her of promises which she had broken: "It became not subjects to burden their princes further than it pleaseth them to keep the same." James thought it was not quite sensible on his grandmother's part to put the matter quite so plainly.

The life of the Queen-Mother ended in sad tragedy. On the 29th March 1560, Mary of Guise left Holyrood and passed into Edinburgh Castle. All that she had struggled to accomplish in Scotland had failed, and she herself was fast passing away—she was slowly dying of dropsy. As Regent she had held Scotland by means of a strong force of French soldiers, which her brothers, who were all powerful in France, had sent to her support. The French made Leith a strong place of arms; but the Scottish Protestant leaders persuaded the English Queen to interfere; an English fleet was in the Forth, and an English army was on its way north. The siege of Leith—a turning-point in Scottish history—was about to begin. Holyrood was no longer a place of abode for Mary of Guise, so she passed into the Castle, where she died on the 10th June 1560, keeping up her courage and her dignity to the end; her body was taken to France and buried in the Convent at Rheims, of which her sister was Abbess.

After the Queen-Mother's death, the Duke of Châtelherault, the head of the house of Hamilton, again took up residence in Holyrood as Regent, asserting his claim to that position as the next heir to the Scottish Throne after Mary Stewart. Randolph, the English ambassador, was his guest, and dates a good many despatches from the Palace. Here the nobles assembled to accompany the

Duke to the opening of the famous Scottish Parliament of August 1560, which swept away the Romish Church and made Scotland a Protestant country. But Holyrood was not long left in possession of the Duke, for its rightful owner, the Queen, Mary Stewart, was coming home to take up the government. She had been sent, while yet a child, to France; there she had been educated; while still a girl she had married the Dauphin; and she became Queen of France on the 10th July 1559, when her husband succeeded to the French throne. But he died in December 1560, and Mary was free to return to Scotland.

It was on the 19th August 1561 that Mary Stewart landed in Scotland and took up her residence in the Palace, which had been built by her grandfather, and enlarged and beautified by her father. Mary seems neither to have enlarged nor altered the Palace. Her residence in it extended over less than six years, and yet it is with her name that Holyrood is identified, and it is the glamour of her personality which still draws men of all nationalities to Holyrood as to a shrine. Even after the lapse of three centuries and a half no one can study the records of the time without feeling the wonderful attractiveness of Mary Stewart, and in some measure understanding the source of her power over the men and women among whom she lived. Hers was the magnetism of a thorough woman, in whose veins the wine of life and of youth flowed with wondrous power. She was the last of the direct line of Scottish kings, and had been Queen of Scotland almost from her birth; on her mother's side she belonged to the great French family of Lorraine, who were among the strongest pillars of the Papacy. Mary had been for a year and a half Queen of France; she was the heir to the English throne, and to all who denied

the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth—that is to say, to all good Catholics—she and not Elizabeth was the rightful sovereign of England. Mary, as has been said, took possession of Holyrood on the 19th August 1561; she bade it adieu on the evening of 16th June 1567, when she was conducted a prisoner to Lochleven Castle. She came as Queen to Holyrood when she had not yet completed her nineteenth year, so that the six years during which Holyrood was her "home house" was the time of her early womanhood. The contemporary records of the time are full and numerous, and yet it is not easy to form a true estimate of Mary Stewart's character, partly because hers was a nature full of contrasts and partly because even in these early years she was a "daughter of debate," and men wrote of her according as they loved or hated the principles which she represented. To the one party she was an angel of light, to the other a woman abandoned to vice. It remains, therefore, as difficult now to see this bright girl of nineteen in clear light as it was on the day she landed at Leith, the 19th August 1561, in the midst of a very striking example of an "easterly hawrr." Knox in his History describes the day in his strong vernacular. "For in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven than was at her arrival. The mist was so thick and so dark. The sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but alas, the most part were blind."[1] Of all the contemporary records, there seems to be most likelihood of finding the truth in the reports of the ambassadors who were attached to her Court; and of these the letters of the Englishmen are the most trustworthy. They wrote sometimes to Queen

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 269.

Elizabeth, sometimes to her beloved, the Earl of Leicester, but oftenest to the great Secretary of State, William Cecil. The writers belonged to the splendid Civil Service of the time, which did so much to build up the English Empire. They were men of good birth, well educated, and accustomed to speak the truth even to their imperious mistress. The letters themselves are in the Rolls Office as they were received, so they cannot have been tampered with by the highly-skilled sixteenth-century forgers. Above all, these Englishmen were real men who admired the beautiful woman, and express their admiration frankly in all that they write.

The first distinct picture of Mary is to be got from a despatch of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was one of Elizabeth's most trusted servants, and at this time English Ambassador to France. He writes on the 31st December 1560, describing a visit he had paid to the Queen: "During her husband's life there was no great accounts made of her, but since her husband's death she has showed that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling herself and her matters; which increasing with her years cannot but turn greatly to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country."[1] The letter was written from Paris, when Mary had just completed her eighteenth year, and when she had been only three weeks a widow. During this winter Throckmorton saw her often, and in his letters he faithfully reports how skilfully she held her own against him, the practised diplomatist. Their intercourse closed at this time in a charming way. Mary omitted when leaving France for Scotland to send the English Ambassador the gift which it was the custom

[1] English Foreign Papers, vol. 1560-61, p. 472.

for monarchs to present, so from Holyrood she wrote to Sir Nicholas asking him to induce Lady Throckmorton to accept the silver plate which she had instructed her French agent to deliver. Throckmorton writes to Queen Elizabeth:[1] "On the 3rd September (1561) M. D'Enquilly came in the evening and delivered a letter to Lady Throckmorton from the Queen of Scotland, and presented her with 2 basins, 2 ewers, and 2 Salts, and a standing cup all gilt, and which weighed 398 oz. and used further many courteous words on the said Queen's behalf." Mary passed into Scotland, and came under the ever-watchful eye of Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador at Holyrood. Randolph was a man of about forty, the confidant of John Knox, of Moray, and of the other leaders of the Protestant party; but he was also on intimate terms with the Court at Holyrood House, and a warm admirer of the many beautiful women who adorned it. He writes on the 24th October 1561—two months after Mary's arrival—describing the presentation of his credentials: "Next day I was sent for to the Council Chamber, where she herself ordinarily sits most part of the time, sowing some work or other."[2] The Council—the Privy Council—when in session, met twice a day, at 8 A.M. and at 1 P.M., in the "auld chapel,"—James IV.'s Chapel, which his son had turned into a hall for the Council, when he built the new chapel. It must have been pleasant for the Privy Councillors to watch Mary's skilful fingers doing the elaborate designs in sewed work which were in vogue, and in which the Queen excelled. A few weeks after, Randolph tells of another official visit to Holyrood. It was a December day, and Monsieur de Foyes, the French Ambassador, had

[1] English Foreign Papers, 1561-62, p. 301.
[2] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. i. p. 562.

just been received. "The Chamber was full of company and of a great fire. When I talked with her she was very merry, and spake with such affection, as I think it came from the heart."[1] The affection, it may be noted, was for Queen Elizabeth. Then he tells how the young Queen spent her time. "She reads daily after dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Buchanan, somewhat of Livy."[2] And again: "Next day after the Council was risen, the Queen's Grace, as she does oft, did in her privy garden shoot at the butts, where the Duke and other noblemen were present, and I also admitted for one to see the pastime. It would well have contented your Honour to have seen the Queen and the Master of Lindsay to shoot against the Earl of Mar and one of the ladies."[3]

We find, too, constant notices of the progresses which the Queen delighted to make through the country. She was a splendid horsewoman and loved to travel on horseback with a great train. In June 1563 she paid a visit to the Earl of Argyle, who was married to her half-sister. Randolph writes: "As many as are going to Argyle are preparing their Highland costume, which the Queen hath ready, marvellous fair, presented to her by James Macconnell's wife. I framed myself as near as I could in outer shape to be like with the rest, in a saffron shirt, or a Highland plaid."[4] Fortunately for Randolph, the kilt, as we now know it, had not been invented. The Highland dress which Queen Mary wore seems to have consisted of "a long loose cloak of damask, over a gown which reached to the ankles and was generally embroidered."[5] There is also the oft-quoted passage from

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. i. p. 577.
[2] Ibid., p. 615.
[3] Ibid., p. 619.
[4] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 13.
[5] Inventories, p. lxviii.

his account of the campaign against the Earl of Huntly in 1562. "She repented nothing, but when the lords and others at Inverness came in the mornings from the watch, that she was not a man to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a jack and knapschall, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword."[1] Randolph was often hard pressed to keep up the dignity of the plenipotentiary of a great power. "On Sunday, when at Court, her grace's first word was 'Monsieur Randolph, tell me some part of your novelles (news) and you shall know of mine.'"[2] Or how would a present-day British Ambassador like this treatment, even from a very lovely queen? Randolph writes direct to Queen Elizabeth:[3] "Immediately after receipt of your letter to this Queen, I repaired to St Andrews, and when time served I presented the same. She said little to me at the time; next day she passed wholly in mirth. Her grace lodged in a merchant's house, her train very few, and small repair from any part. Her will was I should dine and sup with her, and your majesty was oft times druncken unto by her. Having thus spent Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to utter to her grace your majesty's last command by Mr Secretary's letters. I had no sooner spoken these words but she said: 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment; I sent for you to be merry and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live with my little troup, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh and keep your gravity and grave embassage until the Queen come thither, for I assure you, you shall

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. i. p. 651.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 38. [3] Ibid., p. 120.

not get her here; nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think that I am she at St Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh.'"

But the young Queen was not always in vigorous health and high spirits. "As from some disease the day before, she kept her bed, it pleased her majesty to admit me to present those letters. After thus talking at her grace's bedside for a whole hour or more, none present but my Lord of Murray, I took my leave."[1] She broke down altogether, too, when the news reached her of the death of her uncle, the Duke of Guise. "At my departure she began to renew to me all her griefs and adventures befallen her since her husband's death, and how destitute she was of friends and that I should not wonder to see her in such extreme sorrow."[2]

There may also be quoted from Sir James Melville's delightful memoirs, written years after the mistress whom he had served so faithfully was dead, the reason he gave to his grandchildren for entering Queen Mary's service. "Then she was so affable, so gracious and discreet, that she won great estimation and the hearts of many both in England and Scotland, and mine among the rest, so that I thought her more worthy to be served for little profit, than any other prince in Europe for great commodity. Then she was naturally liberal, more than she had moyen (means)."[3] Further, there is the well-known report which Sir Francis Knollys made in 1568 to Queen Elizabeth regarding Mary, who had surrendered to him after crossing the Solway, when she took refuge in England after

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 29.
[2] Ibid., p. 2.
[3] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 111.

the battle of Langside. "This lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, to be very familiar. She showeth great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiance, commending by name approved hardy men of her country. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory; so that for victory's sake, pain and perils seem pleasant unto her."[1] Knollys met Queen Mary after she had fought her last fight in Scotland, and victory had been denied her.

Queen Mary returned to Scotland a wealthy widow. By her marriage contract with the Dauphin she had a dowry of 60,000 livres per annum. Sir William Cecil valued her income at £12,000 of English money,[2] and this was a sum probably twice as large as the whole Crown revenues of Scotland. Besides, she had the right under her marriage contract, should her husband the Dauphin succeed to the French throne—as he did—"to take such plate, rings, gems, apparel, and the like, as the Queens of France had been accustomed to have after the death of their husbands."[3] Mary brought with her, therefore, much fine furniture and tapestry; silver plate of great value; a wonderful assortment of dresses; and "many costly jewels and golden work, precious stones, orient pearls, most excellent of any that were in Europe."[4] It was said that her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had acted as her guardian while a girl, grudged very much

[1] Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 428.
[2] Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots, p. x, note.
[3] Ibid., p. xvi.
[4] Bishop Leslie's History, p. 290.

to see the Queen's jewels leaving France. The inventories of her possessions are very interesting, and seem to have been carefully kept; they are all written in French. The furniture and hangings were used to adorn Holyrood.

It is not possible to give an exact description of the Palace of Queen Mary's time. James V.'s Tower remained, and in it the royal family had their private apartments; the drawbridge and moat of James V.'s time had probably been swept away during the alterations made by Mary of Guise, and the interior made more comfortable. The Palace proper was immediately to the south of the Tower, probably grouped round quadrangles as shown in the plan of Edinburgh of 1647, drawn by Gordon of Rothiemay. From these quadrangles the council chamber, the State apartments, and the rooms for the court officials and the army of servants, would enter probably partly from outside stairs. Knox in his History tells that when he was summoned before the Council, "his followers filled the inner close, and all the stair even to the Chalmer door where the Queen and Council sat," [1] which suggests that the hall for the Privy Council had its own staircase entering from a quadrangle. Brantôme, a well-known French man of letters of the time, who came over in Mary's train in 1561, and who must have known well the splendid chateaux of Touraine in which the French Court lived, declared Holyrood to be a fine house, much grander than was to be expected in so poor a country as Scotland. As to the buildings of the Monastery of Holyrood, there is a curious notice of their condition in an entry in the Register of Great Seal for 1st December 1564 already quoted,[2] which shows that the monastic buildings still stood in ruins to the south-

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 402.
[2] Mag. Sig., vol. iv., 1567.

east of the Palace. In all likelihood they had been used as a quarry for building-stones since burned by the English in 1544. Possibly the abbot's house, with its garden and orchard, had been restored and was in the possession of Lord Robert Stewart, the Commendator of Holyrood. The accommodation of the Palace must have been extensive, as we know that some of the officers of State, notably the Chancellor, had by right of their offices apartments in the Palace; that the members of Privy Council lived in it when attending the Council; that accommodation was found not only for the officers of the household and for the ladies of honour, but for attendants and servants of all kinds. The number was much increased by the fact that there were included in the list many artisans—tailors, shoemakers, embroiderers, &c., the clothing for Queen and Court being largely made in the house. Then all the progresses of the Court were made on horseback, so that the stables were very extensive.

The ladies of the household were of three orders: elder ladies of honour; then "The Four Marys"; and thirdly, young girls who were being trained under a governess, Mademoiselle de la Zouche.[1] The elder ladies were the Countess of Atholl; "Madame de Briante," the mother of Mary Seton; and "Madame de Cric," wife of the laird of Creich and mother of Mary Beaton. The two latter were Frenchwomen married to Scotsmen.[2] Next to the Queen herself popular interest centres in the Four Marys.[3] These were four girls of her own age who had accompanied the Queen to France, been educated with her, and returned with her to Scotland. Their charms had been sung by Brantôme

[1] Teulet's 'Papiers d'Etat,' Maison de Maria Stuart, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122. Inventories, Preface, p. li.

[3] The information regarding the Four Marys is taken from Joseph Robertson's Preface to the Inventories.

while they remained at the French Court, and when they returned to Scotland, George Buchanan took up the theme and extolled them in his Latin verse. The Four Marys, round whose names many myths have gathered, were Mary Seton, Mary Livingston, Mary Beaton, and Mary Fleming. Mary Seton was the only daughter of the fourth Lord Seton by his second wife Mary Pieris, a French lady who came to Scotland in the train of the Queen-Mother in 1538; her family were devoted members of the old Church, and strong supporters of Queen Mary. Mary Seton never married, and followed her mistress to most of her English prisons until 1582, when she took refuge in the convent of St Peter's in Rheims, where she died. Queen Mary asserted that she was the finest "busker" of hair in Christendom. Her fame in that respect is sung by no less an authority in hairdressing than Queen Elizabeth's cousin, Sir Francis Knollys. "Among other pretty devices yesterday and this day, she did set such a curled hair upon the Queen, that was said to be a pere wyke, that showed very delicately. And every other day she hath a new device of head dressing, without any cost." Delightfully single-minded were these strong men who defended Elizabeth's throne —they were interested even in hairdressing!

Mary Livingston, the beauty of the Court of Holyrood, was the daughter of Lord Livingston. She was the first of the Marys to marry, and the wedding was celebrated with great festivities at Holyrood on Shrove Tuesday 1565, the Queen supplying the wedding dress, giving the masque, and endowing the bride with land to the value of £500 a year. Her husband was John Sempill, a younger son of Lord Sempill; Knox in his History[1] speaks of him as famous for his dancing.

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 415.

Mary Beaton, or, as she signed her name, "Marie Bethune," came of a Fife family, which gave to the old Church some of her best-known prelates. She was a woman of keen wit and great charm, and Knox accuses Randolph, the English ambassador, of being very much in love with her—Knox was a good gossip, among his other good qualities. She married in May 1566, Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne—the King and Queen and six earls signing the marriage contract, and George Buchanan singing her praises in Latin verse.

Mary Fleming was a daughter of Lord Fleming, her mother being a natural daughter of James IV. She was wooed and won after a long courtship by William Maitland of Lethington, Secretary of State, and one of the ablest and most accomplished men of the time. There is an attractive sketch of Mary Fleming in one of Randolph's letters. It was Twelfth Night 1564, and the Court was playing a French game. A bean was hid in the Twelfth Night cake, and she to whom the bean fell was queen for the night—"Queen of the Bean." Mary Fleming was the fortunate one, so she was clothed in a gown of cloth of silver, and on her was displayed Queen Mary's magnificent jewellery. "Her head, her neck, her shoulders, and her whole body were covered with jewels." The Queen wore no jewellery save a chain round her neck, suspending a ring which was a gift from Queen Elizabeth.[1] It is little wonder that the English ambassador was deeply impressed.

There is a list in existence of the "Maison de Marie Stuart, Royne d'Escosse, douairiere de France," dated 13th February 1567, signed as correct by the Queen and by Joseph Riccio.[2] It is practically a statement of how her

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 34.

[2] Teulet, vol. ii. p. 121.

French dowry was spent, and gives an idea of the personnel of the Court, and of the troupe of servants which Holyrood housed, all their salaries and wages being paid from the Queen's own funds, and not by the Scottish Exchequer. The Ladies of Honour were balanced by the Esquires of the Table and of the Stables; by Ushers of various degrees. There were two medical men, as well as a Surgeon and an Apothecary, attached to the Palace; and a Confessor, a Chaplain, and a Clerk to the Chapel Royal. One of the highly-paid servants was the tailor—"Jehan Poulliet, dict de Compiengne," who received 400 livres per annum. There were on the staff three upholsterers, a shoemaker, a barber, and a stocking-maker. No less than seven names—all foreigners—appear in the list of the Secretary's Department, and a painter and a player on the lute received grants. There were several "Fools" attached to the Court; Mary was accompanied from France by a female fool called Nicola or La Jardiniere, and grants to others of the class, both men and women, appear. As far as one can judge, Mary brought with her a considerable portion of the household which she had as French Queen, and she did not take into her service any of her mother's servants, who were sent back to France when Mary of Guise died. As so large a proportion of Mary's household, both men and women, were French, it appears strange that the six Masters of the Household are all unmistakably French. If even one of them had been a Scotsman, it would surely have assisted the smooth working of the Palace in its dealings with the inhabitants of the capital. The Palace really contained a French colony, separated by difference of language, of religion, and of habits from the inhabitants of Edinburgh. On the other hand, the Palace gardens continued in the hands of two Scotsmen—

one for the north and the other for the south garden, who held Crown appointments for life, as the records of the Privy Seal show. Between Royal Household and servants the ordinary household of Holyrood must have numbered nearly 200. On 29th December 1565, there is in the Register of Privy Council a return of "what money and victuals are required for the furnishing of their Majesties' House"—£35,000 in money, 72 chalders wheat, 50 chalders beer, and 130 chalders oats.[1]

The furniture of Holyrood is catalogued, and the most outstanding articles are the gorgeous beds, of which forty-five of all kinds appear in the Inventory.[2] Here is the description of one of these wonderful erections: "Item, ane bed dividit equalie in claith of gold and silver, with drauchtes of violet and gray silk, maid in chiffers of 'A,' and enrichit with leiffis and branches of holme, furnisit with ring heidpece, freinget with gold and violett silk, with thre plane curtenes." Then the Queen possessed thirty-six Turkey carpets, and twenty-three sets of tapestry; some of the latter had been in Holyrood from the time when Mary's grandfather, James IV., first furnished the Palace. The Queen's dining-room is described as hung with black velvet, and the drawing-room with green and cerise cloth; the Chapel Royal was highly decorated, and the dresses of the priests rich; there was a ball-room ornamented with heraldic devices; and the library was hung with green.[3] The catalogue of Mary's library is curious, as showing what one of the most accomplished women of her time read.[4] There are 240 volumes, the greater proportion being in French, but the Latin and Greek classics are well represented. There are several

[1] Privy Council Minutes, vol. ii. p. 412.
[2] Inventories, p. 28.
[3] Ibid., p. 126.
[4] Ibid., p. 179.

English and Italian books, and two Spanish. French was the language which Mary used in writing, and she did not attempt a holograph letter in English until 1568, but she must have talked English perfectly; she was able both to speak and write Italian; when only a girl she had made an oration in Latin before the French Court, which was hailed as a wonderful effort; and it is believed that she had some knowledge of Greek.

Queen Mary was only a child when she had been sent away from Scotland in 1548; she had been brought up along with the royal children of France; and had as Dauphiness and Queen been a leading figure in the gayest and most extravagant court in Europe,—under the auspices of her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, it was probably the most immoral. She returned to Scotland really French in her manner of life and in her tastes, and she attempted to live at Holyrood the stately life of the French Court. She delighted in progresses through the country, accompanied by a great train, on horseback; in stately processions in which she carried her gorgeous dresses and splendid jewellery as only she could; in the impressive ceremonials of her church; and she loved those masques which are to us so strange a feature of the time. Of course she could not have indulged in such extravagant practices if she had not had her French dowry—the resources of the Scottish Crown could not have stood the strain. Holyrood must have been a very pleasant house in the early years of Mary's life in it; she was one of the most gracious of hosts, full of life and mirth, and delighting in being surrounded by a crowd of guests. Here is the description by Randolph of a Shrovetide feast at Holyrood: "The banquet continued with joy and mirth, marvellous sights and shows, singular devices, nothing

left undone either to fill our bellies, feed our eyes, or content our minds. The Queen dined privately with the chief lords and ladies, willing me to be placed at the lords' table, that she might speak with me, as she did much of the dinner time. The Four Marys served her Grace; the lords were attended by the rest of her own gentlewomen-maydens, apparrelled as herself, and the other four all in white and black. The solemnities too long to describe. My Sovereign was drunk unto openly, not one of 300 persons or more but heard the words."[1] The same writer gives another description of Mary's kindly ways: "The Sunday a daughter of the Justice Clerk was married, three miles from Edinburgh, where most of the lords were. After dinner thither went the Queen and her Four Marys to do honour to the bride. She returned that night and supped with Lennox, where I also was at the same table. In the midst of her supper she drank to the Queen, my Sovereign, adding this word, 'De bon cœur.'"[2] Knox hints that the English Ambassador was much smitten by the beautiful Queen; and one cannot help imagining that Knox himself fulminated against Mary partly as an intimation to the world at large that he—John Knox—had not passed under her spell.

The pageants of the time are described at great length in the contemporary literature. Of all the semi-religious ceremonials, Mary seems to have had a special love for the foot-washing on the day before Good Friday. The day is still called "Maundy Thursday" in England; in Scotland at this time it was termed "Skyre Thurisday." She continued the ceremonial during most of the years of her imprisonment in England by washing the feet of as many poor maidens as there were years in her own age, and

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 47. [2] Ibid., p. 86.

each of the girls was presented with five quarters of linen at 5s., 6s., or 6s. 8d. a yard, and with two yards of white kersey at 15s. or 16s. a yard.[1] Mary's last Maunday at Holyrood was in 1567. She was attended at the ceremonial by nine ladies and maids of honour, seven maids and their governess, seven bedchamber women, eleven masters of household and gentlemen, nine valets of her chamber, one usher of her chamber, and ten officers.[2] The list shows how carefully Mary ordered her great functions, and how numerous were the attendants whom she could command.

Of civic functions here is a pleasant example; the occasion is the opening ceremonial of the Scottish Parliament of 1563. It is earnestly to be hoped that before the gay procession started from Holyrood the causeway of Canongate and High Street had been swept and the kennels flooded. "The Queen herself, accompanied with all her nobles and above thirty of her chosen and picked ladies in this realm, came to the Parliament House, her robes upon her back and a rich crown upon her head. The Duke next before her bore the royal crown; the Earl of Argyle, the sceptre; my Lord of Murray, the sword. She made an oration unto her people which herewith I send your honour as she wrote it in French, but pronounced it in English with a very good grace."[3] That is what Thomas Randolph saw. John Knox was differently touched: "Such styncken pryde of women as was sein at that Parliament was never sein befoir in Scotland."[4] It is strange to us men of the present day that these

[1] Inventories, p. lxiv, note.
[2] Ibid., p. lxv, note.
[3] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 10.
[4] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 381.

two men of this other century looked with such different eyes on the gay cavalcade which the beautiful young Queen led up the old High Street; Knox's opinion was certainly largely influenced by the fact that Mary Stewart showed forth the spirit of the "pleasant land of France" rather than of the Scotland of the time.

Many pages might be filled with an account of the many quaint masques—or triumphs as they were called—which Holyrood witnessed during the years of Mary's residence in the Palace. The first was the pageant arranged in her honour by the City of Edinburgh a fortnight after her arrival in Scotland. Mary rode with a great train outside the walls, along the terrace, which is now Princes Street, and thence up to the Castle, where she dined. She then returned down the Royal Mile, escorted by an escort of citizens, seeing many quaint shows on the way, to Holyrood, where the ceremony of the day ended in the presentation by the city of a cupboard of gilt plate.[1] Next month, when her uncle, the Grand Prior, left on his return to France, a grand masque was given in his honour at Holyrood, the Latin verses which were recited being written by George Buchanan, one of the first scholars of his age.[2] A month later there followed an equestrian masque in honour of another uncle, the Marquis d'Elbœuf. He and five companions ran at the ring quaintly disguised as stranger knights, against six dressed in women's attire, led by two of Mary's half-brothers, Lords Robert and John Stewart.[3] In February 1562 there was celebrated, with splendour such as never before had been seen in Scotland, the marriage of Lord James Stewart with Agnes Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal. The day before the marriage Lord

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 67.
[2] Inventories, p. lxv. [3] Ibid., p. lxvi.

James had been belted Earl of Mar. Knox married the young couple in St Giles' Kirk, and, as he tells, admonished them "to behave moderatlie in all things."[1] Then the newly-married pair, accompanied by a long train of nobles, rode to the Palace, where the Queen gave a great banquet and masque, followed by dancing and fireworks, and running at the ring, and the making of twelve knights. So the first day, Sunday, passed. On Monday the city gave a banquet in Cardinal Beaton's house, at the foot of Black Friars' Wynd, when a company of young citizens performed a masque, and escorted Mary back to Holyrood. On Tuesday there was another entertainment at Holyrood, at which Mary drank to Queen Elizabeth, and sent the cup, which was of gold, to the English Ambassador.[2] It may be noted that at this time of religious fervour Sunday was the favourite day for these entertainments, and that though Knox raises his voice against the wanton extravagance of the Court, he makes no objection to Sunday being chosen. Sabbatarianism was not known in the sixteenth century; it became part of the orthodox creed in the following century. We read of a masque to celebrate a court wedding, carried out on a Sunday in May, on the turf at the side of a loch in the Queen's Park.[3] There is mention of another masque, divided into three acts. In act first a boy, with bandaged eyes to represent Cupid, appeared, while the chorus sang an Italian sonnet, in all probability written by David Riccio. In the second act, a fair young girl, representing Chastity, entered, when Latin verses, written by George Buchanan, were sung. In act three, Time enters, and the servants sing Latin verses, foretelling that as long as heaven and earth lasted, the

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 314.
[2] Inventories, p. lxxviii. [3] Ibid., p. lxxxii.

mutual love of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth should endure.[1] It is apparent that it was possible to wander from the truth in these old masques just as it is in modern plays.

There is one side of Mary's nature which makes her sister to the modern woman—she was very much an out-of-door woman, and delighted in sport. There is no doubt that she was a splendid horsewoman, and never looked handsomer than seen on horseback. Her wild journey from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle and back in one day shows how well she could ride. She was very fond of dogs; at Holyrood there was a man who had charge of her pets, and in the accounts of the household there is an allowance of two loaves per diem for the Queen's dogs.[2] A little dog was her last attendant; it followed her into the great hall of Fotheringay on the morning she was beheaded, and was with difficulty taken away from the body after her execution. She was also a keen sports-woman. Knox, in describing the most pleasant interview which he ever had with Mary, tells that it took place before sunrise, "at the halking bi-weast Kynrose"[3]—when she was hawking to the west of Kinross. While Randolph gives a description of the great hunt in Atholl, for which he himself prepared his Highland outfit, and he relates her skill in archery.

Behind the gaiety of the Court, and dulling to some extent the loyalty and enthusiasm with which Scotsmen of all classes welcomed their young Queen, was the shadow of the religious difficulty. Mary Stewart was almost of necessity a Roman Catholic; she had been brought up among the strongest supporters of the old Church in

[1] Inventories, p. lxxxiii. [2] Ibid., p. xc.
[3] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 371.

Europe, her mother's family of Lorraine. She stated her position very simply to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton when, before she left France in 1561, he advised her to adopt the Reformed doctrines: "The religion that I profess I take to be most acceptable to God, and indeed neither do I know, nor desire to know, any other."[1] Rene Benoist, a doctor of the Sorbonne, accompanied the Queen to Scotland as her Father Confessor,[2] and almost all her servants were French and Catholics. It is hard to make men of the twentieth century understand the sixteenth, and difficult for them to believe that toleration was an unknown virtue in the sixteenth century, or rather it was not conceived to be a virtue, but rather treason to God. This position was not peculiar to Scotland: the hatred between the two religions was even more bitter in sunny France than in bleak Scotland. The religious difficulty faced Queen Mary on the first Sunday after she landed. Three of the Queen's uncles and several other distinguished Frenchmen had accompanied her to Scotland, and preparations were made for the celebration of Mass in the Chapel Royal within the Palace, when a riot was threatened, and the Queen's Protestant brother, Lord James, had to interfere to prevent an inroad on the chapel and to protect the priest who had officiated.[3] Next day the Privy Council met and issued a Proclamation, which stated that no change on the Protestant religion, which had been established by Parliament in the preceding August, would be permitted, but that the Queen's French household would be protected in the free exercise of their religion.[4] The trouble continued during the years that

[1] Calendar of Foreign Papers, vol. 1561-62, p. 151.
[2] Inventories, p. lv, note.
[3] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 270.
[4] Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 266.

Mary remained in Holyrood. The difficulty is very clearly put by Randolph in one of his letters. "Thrice in the week there is an ordinary sermon in the Earl of Murray's lodging within the Queen's house, so near to the Mass that two so mortal enemies cannot be nearer together without some deadly blow given either on one side or the other. One of the Queen's priests got a coul in a dark night that made somewhat-a-do. Her musicians, both Scotch and French, refused to play and sing at her Mass upon Christmas Day; thus is her poor soul so troubled for the preservation of her silly Mass that she knoweth not where to turn in defence of it."[1] It must be remembered that Catholic worship was celebrated in the Chapel "within the Palace," the old Abbey Church being used as the Protestant Church of the Canongate Parish. The position was that the celebration of the Mass had been forbidden by the Parliament of 1560 under pain of death, and that the extreme Reformers, headed by John Knox, would have enforced this against the Queen, had not her brother, Lord James Stewart, the civil head of the Protestant party, interfered. The strong animosity between the Queen and John Knox was very unfortunate. In the beginning of 1561, before Mary left France, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton reported to his Government—"That he understands that the Queen of Scotland is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all the kingdom is Knox."[2] The Queen, when she returned to Scotland, was prepared to quarrel with Knox, and Knox was quite ready to do his part in the quarrel. In his sermon on the Sunday following the first celebration of the Mass at Holyrood, Knox inveighed against it, declar-

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. i. p. 675.
[2] Calendar of Foreign Papers, vol. 1561-62, p. 179.

ing—"That one Mass was more fearful to him than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm on purpose to suppress the whole religion."[1] Mary then sent for Knox, and had a long interview with the Reformer in Holyrood, no one being present save Lord James Stewart. The account of the interview is given by Knox in 'The History of the Reformation in Scotland,' in his usual strong, quaint language.[2] The Queen accused Knox of inciting her subjects to rebel against her as he had raised the country against her mother while Regent. The conversation largely turned on the right of subjects to resist their rulers. The whole incident brings out in strong relief the character of the two disputants: the Queen, perfectly self-possessed and quick to make her points; the Reformer, very respectful, but firm to his convictions. It must have been a strange experience for the young Queen, who had already become accustomed to have all men "at her feet," to meet this Scottish clergyman—a man of the people—who though quite polite showed himself proof against her charms. Knox further records the opinion he expressed, when "some of his familiars" asked him after the interview what he thought of the Queen: "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me."

There is an engraving, popular in Scotland, of a picture of "Knox Preaching before Queen Mary in St Giles'." There is no record of the Queen ever having entered St Giles', or any other Protestant church in Scotland. She was a Guise, and as such would not have condescended to enter a Protestant place of worship; it showed how she was "lost to shame" when she

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 276. [2] Ibid., p. 280.

degraded herself in her own eyes by being married to Bothwell according to the Protestant form. John Knox records in language not to be mistaken how often he preached "*at*" Queen Mary in St Giles', but never that he preached "*to*" her.

There followed in the two succeeding years other four meetings between the Queen and Knox, which are recorded in Knox's History. In December 1562 it was reported to Knox that there had been great gaiety and rejoicing at Holyrood in consequence of the news of the triumph of the Guise party over the Hugenots in France. The minister of St Giles' preached in his church against "the Queen's dancing and little exercise of herself in virtue and godliness," taking as his text, "And now understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth."[1] So Knox was again called to Holyrood, and met "the Queen in her bedchamber, and with her, beside the Ladies and the common servants, were the Lord James, the Earl of Morton, and Secretary Lethington." The Queen accused Knox of trying "to bring her in hatred and contempt of the people." Knox replied by repeating the words he had actually used in his sermon; the Queen answered him that "your words are sharp enough as you have spoken them, but yet they were told me in another manner." And the Reformer was allowed to depart with "a reasonable merry countenance."

In the early spring of 1563 Knox was summoned to Kinross, and saw Mary twice; the second conference was a very friendly one. Two months later, in the end of May or beginning of June, there followed a singularly interesting encounter between the Queen and the Reformer in Holyrood Palace. The air was then thick with rumours

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 331.

that the Queen was about to marry the heir to the Spanish throne; Knox from the pulpit of St Giles' cried shame on the "nobility of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus" if they permitted "ane infidelle—and all Papistis are infidellis—shall be head to your Soverane."[1] The sermon offended Protestants and Catholics alike, while Mary, who had set her heart on this Spanish match, lost her temper altogether with Knox, so he was summoned to the Palace. A number of "the faithful" accompanied the Reformer, but only John Erskine of Dun was allowed to follow him into the presence. "The Queen, in a vehement fume, began to cry out that never Prince was handled as she was. 'I avow to God, I shal be anes avenged,' and with these wordis, skarslie could Marnack, hir secreat chalmer-boy, gett neapkynes [napkins] to hold her eyes drye for the tearis, and the owling, besydes womanlie weaping, stayed hir speiche." Mary's question to Knox, repeated again and again, was, "But what have ye to do with my marriage?" In the end the Queen "commanded the said Johne to pass furth of the Cabinet" and await her commands in the Presence Chamber. Here Knox had a long and agreeable talk with the Queen's ladies on the vanities of human life. Knox's very words must be quoted. He said to the ladies, who were "sitting in all thair gorgiouse appurrell, 'O fayre Ladyes, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should ever abyd, and then in the end, that we myght pass to heavin in all this gay gear. But fye upon that knave Death, that will come whether we will or not. And when he hes laid on his areist the foul wormes will be busy with this flesche be it never so fayr and so tender.' And by such means procured he the company of women." Knox does not

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 381.

relate whether Mary Beaton was one of his audience, and whether she gave him a "bit of her mind" in reply.

In the end of December 1563 came Mary's last encounter with Knox, who had, as it seemed, brought himself within the reach of the Law of Treason, by calling together "the faithful" in defence of two extreme Protestants who had made a riot in the Palace against the celebration of the Mass when the Queen was absent from Holyrood. Knox was summoned before the Privy Council, meeting in Holyrood; and after the members had taken their places "the Queen came forth, and with no little worldly pomp was placed in the Chair." Mary fancied that she had her enemy in her power, and she showed it in a somewhat undignified manner, if Knox's account is accurate: "When she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table bare headed, she first smiled and then gave ane gawf laughter" (a burst of laughter). Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary of State, acted as accuser, charging Knox with treason, inasmuch as he had raised a tumult of her subjects against the Queen. Knox defended himself with great skill, managing to represent the matter as a question between the Protestant and Catholic faith. As it happened, the members of Privy Council who were then present were mostly Protestants, so he was found "Not guilty," each member being called on in turn to give his vote.[1]

These encounters between the Queen and John Knox show vividly Mary's extreme frankness, her self-reliance and cleverness, and also her passion when she was crossed in any matter that she really had at heart. They bring the reader face to face with the difficulty which those

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. pp. 403, 404.

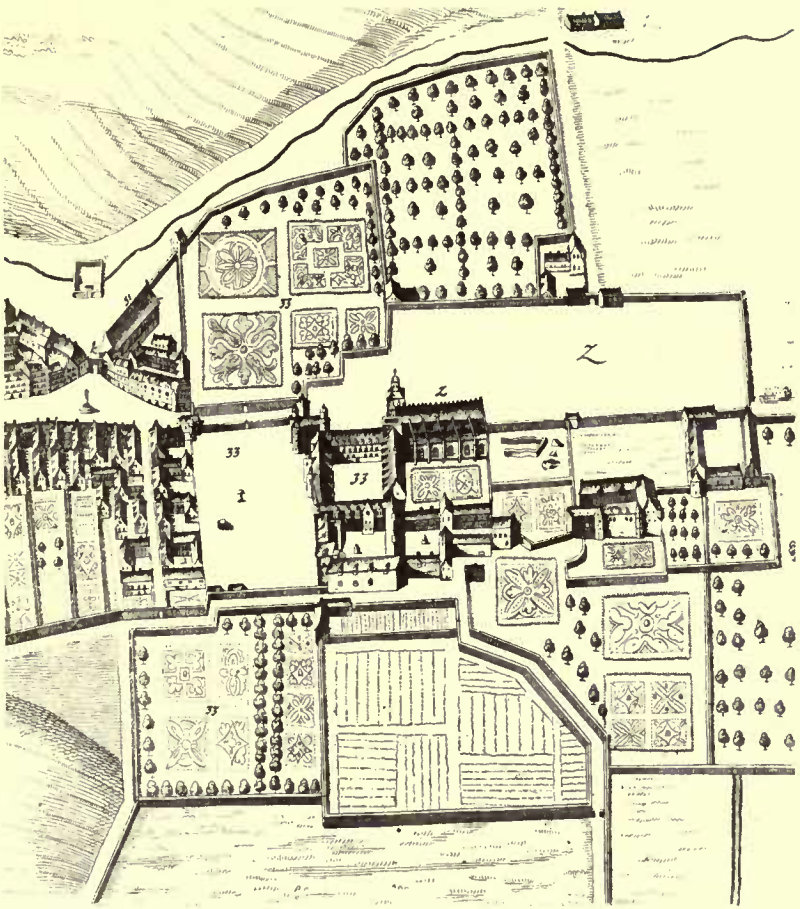
who differed in religion experienced in living together in amity in the sixteenth century. Of all the ways in which John Knox offended Mary Stewart, one can imagine that his usual form of prayer in St Giles' must have been perhaps the most exasperating, being recurrent: "O Lord, if it be Thy good pleasure, purge the heart of the Queen's Majesty from the venom of idolatry and deliver her from the bondage and thraldom of Satan, wherein she has been brocht up, and yet remainent for lack of true doctrine."[1] The prayer was much needed; and if it had been offered up in Knox's "secret chalmer," instead of from the pulpit of the Town's Church, might have been answered.

[1] Calderwood's History, p. 64.

CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN MARY'S MARRIED LIFE AT HOLYROOD.

When Mary Stewart assumed the Government in August 1561, she acted like a modern constitutional Sovereign: she accepted the revolution in the Church, which had been consummated by the Parliament of 1560; and she took as her advisers the leaders of the Protestant party. Her half-brother Lord James Stewart became her Prime Minister, and William Maitland of Lethington Secretary of State. It was the only course open to the Queen if she desired Scotland to be peaceful and contented, for whether the Protestants were in the actual majority or not in the country, there is no doubt that the intellectual and moral strength of the country supported the Reformed Church. Besides, these two men were undoubtedly the ablest statesmen in the Scotland of the time. James Stewart was the eldest living illegitimate son of James V. Born about 1533, he had been made Prior of St Andrews when a mere child; he, however, early adopted the Reformed doctrines and was the acknowledged leader of the Protestant party. There is no doubt of his power as an administrator, or of the consistency with which he maintained the Church of the Reformation, and the friendship with England as opposed to the old French Alliance. It is not necessary here to enter into an



"THE PALACE OF HOLYROODHOUSE WITH THE SOUTH AND NORTH GARDENS," from Gordon of Rothiemay's Bird's-Eye View of Edinburgh, 1647.

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33 on the Plan refers to Palace and Gardens. *Z* to the "Abbey Kirk with the Kirkyard." *31* to the Tennis Court. *k* to the Water Gate. To the S.E. of the Palace are two houses supposed to be those granted in 1633 to the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh.

analysis of his character, but it may be noted that when he was murdered, a man of only thirty-seven, the common people mourned his loss, and that he has been known in Scotland ever since as "The Good Regent." Mary gave her brother the title of Earl of Mar, and soon after conferred on him the Earldom of Moray, and the estates belonging to the Earldom. Maitland was a man approaching thirty when Mary accepted him as Secretary; he came of a family renowned for high intellectual gifts, and was himself a man of great ability. He accepted the Reformation more on the intellectual than on the religious side, and his extreme subtlety prevented his gaining the confidence of the party to which he joined himself, or of doing high and permanent good to Scotland.

The years which immediately followed Mary's return to Scotland were peaceful and prosperous, and the country began to recover from the ravages of Civil War. Outside the ordinary government of the country, which was in capable hands, the question which most interested Queen and people alike was—whom would Mary choose as a husband? All wished the Queen to marry and bear an heir to the throne, but while Mary naturally desired a husband of her own faith, the great body of Scotsmen hoped that she would choose a Protestant. The position was complicated by Queen Elizabeth of England insisting that she should have the final word regarding the choice. It is necessary to keep in mind that all this happened in the sixteenth century, and that the sixteenth-century view of the effect of the Queen's marriage on the government of the country must be taken into account. This certainly was that Mary's husband must as a matter of course become King of Scotland, and have the fate of the country largely in his hands. That this was the view of

the situation at the time is supported by a conversation which Sir James Melville had with Queen Elizabeth in 1564; he relates it in his Memoirs.[1] "The Queen said that she was never minded to marry." I said, "Madam, I know your stately stomach; ye think gene (when) you were married, ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both, ye may not suffer a commander." It was the kind of "commander" that Mary would choose which so much interested the people of Scotland. No one imagined that a mere Prince Consort without direct influence on government was a possibility. There were many aspirants for Mary's hand. In the spring of 1562 an Ambassador arrived from the King of Sweden to offer his hand in marriage; but he was rejected. Then the Archduke Charles of Austria was favoured by Mary's guardian, the Cardinal of Lorraine, but the Queen did not think him wealthy enough to be King of a poor country like Scotland. The match on which Mary set her heart was with Don Carlos, the heir to the Spanish throne, then the greatest of the kingdoms of Europe. The negotiations regarding a marriage went on for two or three years, but in the end Don Carlos was proved to be so mentally incapable, that his father towards the close of 1564 declared that marriage was impossible.

In February 1565, there came to Scotland Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, and it was he who was to be Mary's fate. After Mary, he was the next heir to the English throne, being the grandson of Margaret Tudor, sister to Henry VIII. by her second husband the Earl of Angus, as Queen Mary was the granddaughter by her first husband, James IV. Darnley's father was Matthew Stewart, 12th Earl of Lennox, who had played a singularly dishonourable part

[1] Page 122.

in Scottish affairs during the early years of Mary's minority, and had lived in banishment in England for some years. Lennox was allowed to return to Scotland in the end of 1564. Darnley arrived in Edinburgh on the 13th February 1565, while Mary was on one of her progresses through Fife. He seems to have been at first taken up by the Protestant party, for the English Ambassador reported, "that I have lent Lord Darlie a couple of my horses and am ready to do him all the honour and service I may,"[1] while a week later he writes: "Yesterday he (Darnley) heard Mr Knox preach and came (to Court) in the company of Murray. After supper, he being required by Murray danced a galiarde with the Queen."[2] The fact was that Darnley had been residing at the English Court, and had been by Elizabeth treated as the first prince of the blood,[3] so that it was natural that the English party in Scotland should show him respect. Besides, Melville reports that at the English Court he had "conformed" to the Protestant Church.[4] Darnley arrived at a most propitious moment, for the course had been cleared of rivals; Mary had been slighted in her negotiations for marriage, and a union with her half-cousin would strengthen her claim to the English throne. Policy therefore pointed towards a union, and Darnley had the advantage in the Queen's eyes that he belonged to a family which was Roman Catholic. Besides, Darnley must have been a tall, handsome young fellow, over six feet in height, and well trained in all manly exercises. Melville writes: "Hir majesty took weill with him and said that he was the lustiest and best proportioned lang man that she had seen."[5] Mary, although she may have thought of him at first only as an advantageous match, fell desper-

[1] Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 127. [2] Ibid., p. 128.
[3] Melville's Memoirs, p. 122. [4] Ibid., p. 134. [5] Ibid.

ately in love with him, and having made up her mind to marry him, pushed on the marriage with all the force of her impetuous character. It should be kept in mind that Mary was only twenty-two, Darnley nineteen; the whole of the leading actors in the tragedy of Mary's reign were young, with the exception of John Knox.

The Register of Privy Council contains, on the 28th July 1565, a proclamation by "Marie, by the Grace of God, Queen of Scottis," that Darnley should be "stylet King of this our Kingdom," and that after the marriage Henry and Mary should be treated as "King and Queen of Scotland conjunctlie."[1] It seems quite clear that the Privy Council assumed a power to which it had no right when it proclaimed Darnley king, without consent of Parliament. Next day Mary was married to Darnley, who had been created Duke of Albany, in the Chapel of Holyrood Palace, at six o'clock in the morning, according to the forms of the Roman Catholic Church, by the Dean of Restalrig.[2] Randolph describes the wedding:[3] "Mary wore the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood," similar to what she had on at her first husband's funeral. She received three rings, the centre a rich diamond; "they kneel together, and many prayers said over them. He taketh a kiss and leaveth her," while Mary remained to hear Mass. There followed a pretty fuss in the Palace, where the Queen was by way compelled to take off her mourning robe, "everie man that could approach to take out a pin"; then the Queen was dressed like a bride. Mary Stewart ceased to be "widow of France" by becoming the wife of Darnley. The marriage was followed by three days of high festivity at Holyrood,

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 345.
[2] Melville, p. 136.
[3] Printed in Knight's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 202.

and as a matter of course on each day a masque was acted. George Buchanan was a Lennox man, so he had to do his best to make famous the marriage of his young chief, the heir to the Lennox name and country. In stately Latin verse Buchanan makes Diana complain to Jupiter sitting in the Council of the Gods, that the envious powers of love and marriage had reft her of one of her bright band of Five Marys. But Jupiter dismissed the complaint, and the herald of the gods proclaimed that song and torch were awaiting the nuptials of another Mary.[1]

The Queen's marriage divides her life at Holyrood into two parts. The Queen had already spent four years there, and her life had been on the whole profitable to the country and creditable to herself; there were to follow other two years during which she seemed steadily to deteriorate, morally and intellectually, until her time in the Palace ended in the three weeks during which she lived there as the wife of Bothwell. It is a singularly ungrateful task to tell the story of Holyrood House during these two years. The course of events in the year 1565 told against Mary, both as a woman and as a queen. She had given herself to Darnley with all the warmth of her passionate nature, and as a man and a husband he turned out utterly worthless. There came also to her at this time the call of her Church to play her part in the Catholic revival of that year, and this opened a great gulf between her and the most trustworthy of her subjects. Even before the marriage was consummated, she seems to have somewhat altered the course of conduct she had formerly pursued. Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, was in great grief; he reports on 29th April 1565, writing from Edinburgh: "On Monday, she and diverse of her women

[1] Inventories, p. lxxxiv.

apparelled themselves like bourgois wives, went upon their feet up and down the town, of every man they met they took some pledge for a piece of money for the banquet. There was a dinner prepared and great cheer made, at which she was herself, to the great wonder and gazing of man, woman, and child. This is much wondered at of a Queen."[1]

On the 21st May he writes: "I know not how to utter what I conceive of the pitiable and lamentable estate of this poor Queen, whom ever before I esteemed so worthy, so wise, so honourable in all her doings;"[2] he thinks she must be bewitched. Of Darnley he says: "His pride is intolerable, his words not to be borne. The passions and furies he will sometimes be in are strange to believe. God must send him a short end."[3] He tells that "with his dagger he would have struck the Justice Clerk, that brought him word that the creation of his being a Duke was deferred for a time."[4]

The Earl of Moray and the majority of the Protestant party had refused their assent to the marriage with Darnley, and proceeded to take up arms in defence of the Protestant settlement,—in Moray's words, "because he had no hopes of Darnley being a setter forth of Christ's true religion."[5] The marriage, in fact, broke the truce which Moray's influence had imposed on the two religious parties. The local history of Edinburgh is an index to the spirit which was abroad. On the 19th August—three weeks after Mary's marriage—John Knox was forbidden to preach while the Court was at Holyrood, and four days later, Douglas of Kilspindie, the Protestant Provost of Edinburgh, was deposed by Royal Warrant, and Sir

[1] Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 148.
[2] Ibid., p. 146.
[3] Ibid., p. 171.
[4] Ibid., p. 171.
[5] Ibid., p. 155.

Simon Preston of Craigmillar put in his place. Mary, immediately after the marriage, called out the levies of the country, and with wonderful determination and amazing energy suppressed the rebellion of the Protestant nobles, and chased her rebellious subjects, with Moray at their head, across the Border into England. Then she settled down in Holyrood to try to live with the man whom she had made King of the Scots. It was soon the "talk of the town" that Darnley's behaviour to his wife was too hard to be borne. Knox puts it quite moderately: "As for the King he past his time in hunting and hawking and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite."[1] By Christmas time, Randolph writes: "He was wont to be first named in all writings, but now is placed second. Certain pieces of money lately coined with both their faces 'Hen. et Maria' are called in and others framed, as here I send you one."[2] The order for the issue of this second coinage is in the Register of Privy Council, of date 22nd December 1565, the coin to be called "the Maria Ryall."[3] The two coins, the first the honeymoon "ryall," and the second the "ryall" of a disillusioned wife, are lying side by side in one of the cases in the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. Melville alone has a good word to say for Darnley: "He was misliked by the Queen, so that it was a great pity to see that good young prince cast off, who failed rather for lack of good counsel and experience than of evil will."[4]

Holyrood must have been a dull place of abode for the lively Queen during the winter of 1565-66; her husband came and went as his fancy led him; the court circle was much reduced in number, most of the Protestant nobles being

[1] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 514.
[2] Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 248.
[3] Register, vol. i. p. 413.
[4] Melville, p. 153.

in exile. As the Protestant lords were across the Border, their wives would naturally stay away from court. Mary had to fall back on the nobles who remained; and Maitland, her Secretary of State, having joined Moray's party, she brought to the front a young Italian, whom she made her private secretary. His name was David Riccio. Melville tells that he came in the train of the Ambassador of Savoy in December 1561; "that he was a merry fellow and a good musician; and her Majesty has 3 varlets of her chamber that sang three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth part, therefore they told her Majesty of this man to be their fourth marrow."[1] Riccio prospered at Holyrood and became very useful, especially as he wrote two or three languages, and there was much correspondence at the time to be carried on with the Catholic powers—France, Spain, and the Pope. Knox fulminated against "the counsels of David and Francisco, the Italiano;"[2] Randolph reported that "David had the whole governour of the realm." It is difficult to catch a glimpse of Riccio himself; the writers of the time are so busy calling Riccio hard names, that the man himself is not visible. He is called old and ugly, and yet there is good reason to believe that he was only at this time in his thirty-second year. Two things are certain: the Treasurer's Accounts prove that his rooms in the Palace were redecorated at considerable expense, and that he received large sums from the royal funds;[3] further, it is known that Mary treated him with a familiarity which turned his head—it was Mary's way with men. The nobility of all parties hated the upstart, and the demon of jealousy was roused in the Queen's husband. Darnley longed to murder

[1] Melville, p. 132. [2] Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 137.
[3] Treasurer's Accounts, 1564-66, pp. 281-298.

Riccio, and it was only too easy to find others willing to assist him. The fitting time for the "removal" of the Italian arrived in the beginning of March 1566. Parliament had been summoned for the 12th March, with the object of passing an attainder on the Earl of Moray and the other Protestant leaders who had been in rebellion and were then in exile in England; Riccio was blamed, probably unjustly, for inciting Mary against her brother. An arrangement was come to about the "execution." There is a curious account of the murder written by Lord Ruthven, the principal actor in the tragedy.[1] In this document Ruthven states that early in February Darnley began badgering him about the need to get quit of Riccio, and that he was unwilling to interfere, especially as he was in bad health. At last he yielded. Ruthven and his wife seem to have been among Mary's most intimate personal friends, for in an entry already quoted from the Register of Privy Seal, the Queen handed over to Ruthven some of the ruinous conventual buildings of Holyrood Abbey for a town house, because "she had commanded the persons under written"—Patrick Lord Ruthven and Janet Stewart his spouse—"to remain by her side as well in the Palace of Edinburgh, as elsewhere where she may happen to dwell."[2] The Ruthven House seems to have been connected with the Palace by a direct passage, probably through a pend. Further, she accepted gifts from both Lord and Lady Ruthven. The latter's present was of tapestry, which appears in the inventory of Mary's property;[3] and Lord Ruthven's was a diamond ring which was supposed to be a protection against poison. The Privy Council Records show that Ruthven had accompanied

[1] Ruthven's Relation. [2] Margin, Sig., vol. iv., No. 1567.
[3] Inventories, p. 58.

the Queen throughout her campaign against Moray, and that during the autumn and winter he had been almost the most regular attender at the Council meetings. Ruthven was a Protestant, so he approached Lord Morton, the Chancellor, and Lord Lindsay of the Byres, neither of whom, although Protestants, had joined in Moray's rebellion, but had remained in residence at Holyrood as members of Privy Council. A regular agreement for Riccio's murder was come to, contained to begin with in two bonds drawn up by a leading lawyer; these were submitted to Darnley and corrected by him with marginal notes. Darnley as King pledged himself to maintain the Protestant Church in Scotland and to obtain the pardon of the lords who were in England; they in return promised Darnley the reversion of the Crown in the event of Mary's death without heirs. These bonds were signed by the King, sent west for the signature of the Earl of Argyle, and south for those of the party in England. Afterwards the lords at Holyrood thought it wise to get from Darnley a third bond protecting the whole actors from prosecution as traitors, because they had "invaded a Royal Palace." This third bond was deemed necessary, as the King insisted on Riccio being seized while he was supping with the Queen, as was the daily custom; while the lords had desired that he should be taken in his own apartments, given some form of a trial, and then hanged. On the evening of Saturday, 9th March 1566, at seven o'clock, Lord Morton marched in 150 of his retainers and took possession of the gates and courtyard of the Palace. Then Lord Ruthven went to Darnley's suite of rooms, which were in the first floor of James V.'s Tower, and finding that the King had gone to the Queen's rooms which were in the second floor, followed by the private

stair, still shown, which led into Mary's bedroom; while Morton led a portion of his men up the public stair into Mary's Presence Chamber, leaving the main body of his followers to prevent any rescue being attempted from the quadrangle. Ruthven entered the supper-room, a tiny room in the north-west corner of James V.'s Tower, opening from the Queen's bedroom. He found the King beside Mary and with his arm round her waist. Riccio sat at the head of the supper-table in rich apparel and with his cap on his head. Ruthven asked the Queen to send Riccio away, as he had given her advice prejudicial to the country, and had besides helped to separate her from her husband. Mary answered him with spirit, while the Queen's attendants tried to drive Ruthven from the room; some of Morton's followers came in, and Riccio was compelled to relax the hold which he had taken of the Queen's gown, and was dragged from the room. Ruthven left the room also and ordered Riccio to be taken down to the King's apartments, but the ruffians who had hold of him slew him at the door of the Queen's outer room with fifty-three wounds. Darnley's golden-hilted dagger, which one of them had taken possession of, was left sticking in the body. Meanwhile those members of the Privy Council not concerned in the plot, who had rooms in the Palace—Lennox, Athole, Huntly, and Bothwell—had called out such followers as they had in the Palace, and a fight was going on in the quadrangle between them and Morton's troopers. This Ruthven quieted down in the King's name, and these nobles thinking "discretion the better part of valour," escaped by jumping from a window "into the little garden where the lions are luget."[1] But the adventures of the night were not over. News of

[1] Melville, p. 148.

the disturbance had been brought to Edinburgh, and the Provost, Mary's faithful follower, Simon Preston of Craigmillar, had sounded the tocsin in the Bell Tower, and led the citizens in "feir of war" down to the Palace. To them the King came and dismissed them, saying that both the Queen and he were safe and well. The night closed with Mary practically a prisoner in the hands of the small Protestant party who had organised the murder, and of the miserable King who had suggested it.

The story of Riccio's murder as told by Lord Ruthven is a flash-light view of the passions which ruled the Scotland of the time. The simplicity of the relation is a proof of Lord Ruthven's sincerity when he declared that all he had done was "for the good of religion." He was affected by a deadly disease when he played his part in the murder; and he died in exile in England on the 12th May, two months later, his end being "so godly that all men that saw it did rejoice."[1] Equally remarkable is the fact that although the plot was known to many—among others to the English ambassador, who some days before it was carried out sent on the news to Cecil,[2]—no whisper of danger had reached the Court. Mary's household was largely cut off, partly because most of its members were French, and perhaps even more because they were Roman Catholics. Very notable, too, was the singular capacity, coolness, and courage shown by the Queen, and the contemptible treachery and weakness of Darnley. The position of the latter was not improved by his afterwards appearing before the Council and stating on oath that he had neither "art nor part" in the slaughter of Riccio,

[1] Quoted in Preface to Inventories, p. 12.

[2] Col. of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. pp. 258, 261.

as his fellow-conspirators replied by sending all the "bonds" to the Queen, and each of these bore Darnley's signature.[1]

But to the men of the present day the strangest fact of all is that the murder was carried out by three noblemen, all men of position and members of Privy Council. The Earl of Morton was Chancellor of Scotland, and as such, Chairman of Privy Council; Lord Lindsay of the Byres was one of the strictest of Presbyterians and one of the leaders of the Protestant Party; Lord Ruthven, an intimate friend of King and Queen. The fact seems to have been that these men believed that Riccio was inciting the Queen to restore the old Church; and in the eyes of the men of the sixteenth century what was the life of a miserable Italian musician in comparison to the cause of the "true religion"? Morton may also have been moved by the rumour which Randolph relates,[2] and Knox confirms, that he was to be deposed from the Chancellorship, and Riccio, although an Italian, raised to this high office—just as De Roubay, a Frenchman, had been by Mary of Guise, only ten years before. There is no doubt that at this time there was an intention to restore the Catholic religion. Knox says so in his History —"During this time, the faithful within this realm were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and persecution to be shortly;" this statement is supported by Randolph's reports, and by Mary's own words in her letter to her ambassador in Paris, the Archbishop of Glasgow. She writes on the very morning of Riccio's murder that she had called Parliament, hoping that "the Spiritual Estate being placed therein in the ancient

[1] Cal. of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 275.
[2] Ibid., p. 261.

manner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the ancient religion."[1]

The next day after Riccio's murder, Sunday, 10th March, found Holyrood and Edinburgh in a strange state of confusion. In the morning, at the Cross of the capital, a Proclamation was read signed by Darnley, as King, dissolving the Parliament, which had been summoned for that week. While in the Palace, the Protestant lords could make nothing of their prisoner, the Queen, who remained defiant and retained her nerve in a remarkable way, especially as it must be remembered that she was in a condition when most women's nerves are easily shaken. Through Lady Athole, her senior Lady-in-Waiting, the Queen managed to open up communications with her friends outside. In the evening there arrived in Edinburgh from England the Earl of Moray and the other lords who had been banished. Mary sent for her brother and had an interview with him. Next day (Monday) Mary captured her weak husband, who came absolutely under her sway, turning his back on his allies. There was much negotiation, the King acting as intermediary and declaring that he had persuaded the Queen to grant pardon to all. The banished lords were introduced into Mary's Presence Chamber and knelt to the Queen, Morton making a supplication on behalf of all the rebels; Mary promised pardon and offered to sign a "Bond" to that effect. So a lawyer was called in and yet another Bond was drawn up, but by the time it was prepared the Queen was ill and the midwife sent for, so nothing more could be done that evening. During the night, about two o'clock on Tuesday morning, Mary and Darnley slipped quietly downstairs and passed through a wine-

[1] Quoted in Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 412.

cellar into the churchyard, walking close to Riccio's grave. At the gate Arthur Erskine, the Queen's Master of the Horse, was waiting with horses and a small escort. Mary mounted on a pillion behind Erskine, and the little party rode eastwards towards Dunbar Castle, where her supporters were mustering and which was reached before morning. Claude Nau, afterwards Mary's private Secretary for some years while she lived in her English prisons, tells the story of the ride of twenty-six miles in the dark over what would be very rough roads, and relates the cowardly and heartless behaviour of Darnley to his wife.[1]

For some months after the murder of Riccio, Holyrood ceases to be Mary's home. From Dunbar she issued summons to the forces of the country to meet her at Haddington, and at their head she returned in triumph to Edinburgh on the 18th March, the Protestant lords having left the day before. Mary took up her residence at "My Lord Home's lugeing, anent the Salt Tron,"[2] and not at Holyrood. She set herself, as Randolph reports, to "quiet her country" and to bring back into the Council such of the nobles as were fitted for it.[3] Mary pardoned Moray and the lords of the 1565 rebellion, and turned her wrath on Morton and all who had taken a part in Riccio's murder. On the 5th April 1566, the Privy Council advised "that hir Majestie remaine in the Castell of Edinburgh till hir Grace be deliverit of hir birth,"[4] so it was in the Castle that her son—afterwards James VI. of Scotland and First of England—was born on the 19th June 1566; while it was in the Chapel Royal within Stirling Castle that he was baptised on the 17th December. The baptism was cele-

[1] Nau's Memorials, p. 17.
[2] Diurnal, p. 94.
[3] Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 273.
[4] Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 445.

brated with great pomp and rejoicing, but it was noticed that the father, although in Stirling, was conspicuous by his absence. The shadow of Mary's utter undoing was already over her. All the contemporary letters speak of the quarrels of Mary and Darnley beginning very shortly after their marriage. The part which the King took in Riccio's murder of course widened the breach, and although they lived together for a few days in the Castle before the child was born, after that event the King went his way and she hers. The unhappy pair did, however, meet in Holyrood in the end of September 1566, Mary having returned to the capital to attend a meeting of the Lords of Exchequer. On Michaelmas Day, 29th September, Darnley also arrived at Holyrood and spent the night with his wife; it was understood that the King had resolved to go abroad, and that a ship was ready at Leith to convey him. Next morning the Privy Council met and both King and Queen attended. What occurred is told in a letter from Du Croc, the French Ambassador at the Scottish Court.[1] Mary took her husband by the hand and "besought him for God's sake to declare if she had given him any occasion for this resolution"—his resolution to go abroad. The King declared that "he has no ground," and departed saying, "Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." It would have been well for the good name of Scotland if Darnley had had the courage to carry out his resolution and had left the country. Du Croc's account of this strange scene is corroborated by a letter from Maitland of Lethington. Was this a last attempt on Mary's part to free herself from the power which she felt was dragging her downwards?

Sir James Melville tells in his usual kindly way what

[1] Teulet's Papiers d'Etat, vol. ii. p. 139.

was occurring in the winter of 1566-67. "But also she had over evil company about her for the time. The Earl Bothwell had a mark of his own he shot at: for apparently he had then already in his mind to perform the foul murder of the King, which he put in execution afterwards that he might marry the Queen."[1] And further he writes: "In the meantime the Earl Bothwell ruled all in Court."[2] It was Bothwell and not Darnley who made all the arrangements for the celebrations at the baptism of the Prince, and yet Bothwell refused to enter the Chapel Royal, because the young prince was baptised according to the Roman Catholic rite.

It may be here noted that one of the great Court events at Holyrood in the end of February 1566—a few days before Riccio's murder—was the marriage of the Earl of Bothwell with Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of Lord Huntly.[3] The wedding was in the Abbey Church of Holyrood; the Queen giving the banquet, and presenting the bride with her wedding gown of cloth of silver. James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, came of an East Lothian family, who held the castle of Hailes. An old genealogical writer notes a peculiar trait in the family. "It was hereditary to the house of Hailes to be kind to the widdow Queens," and he details the love-making of the preceding three generations with the queen-dowagers.[4] This fourth Earl was one of the stormiest and most licentious of the Scottish nobles of his time; while in strange contrast to his walk in life, he always professed himself a zealous member of the Protestant Church. He was born about 1536, so that he was only perhaps five or six years

[1] Melville, p. 170. [2] Ibid., p. 172.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 88.
[4] Preface to Inventories, p. xcv.—Sir Geo. Mackenzie's MS.

older than Mary. He is first introduced in a despatch of Sir Francis Throckmorton, the English Ambassador in France, to his Government, of date 28th November 1560.[1] "Since the 17th inst., the Earl of Bothwell is suddenly departed to Scotland, and boasts he will live in Scotland in spite of all men. He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man, therefore his adversaries should have an eye to him and keep him short." His whole life proved singularly "hazardous." Modern writers wonder how Queen Mary could possibly fall in love with this big, ugly robber-chief; and it would really have been a miracle had Mary been the anæmic saint which her zealous supporters now picture her. Bothwell had two qualities to recommend him to Mary: he had been a strong supporter of the Queen in all her difficulties; and he answered to the description which Sir Francis Knollys gives of those whom Mary favoured,—"she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiance, commending by name approved hardy men of her country." Bothwell proved himself one of the bravest and strongest-willed Scotsmen of his age; but in dealing with women he was utterly devoid of scruple or compunction.

Darnley, after the baptism of his son at Stirling, went in the end of December to join his father, intending to shoot in the Lennox country; he was, however, seized with a trouble resembling smallpox, and lay dangerously ill at Glasgow. The Queen, when she left Stirling after the Prince's baptism, passed to Lord Drummond's house at Tullibardine, accompanied by Bothwell; and then in the middle of January 1567 took the baby prince from Stirling to Holyrood, and on the 20th of the month proceeded to Glasgow to visit her husband. She found him somewhat

[1] Foreign series, vol. 1560-61, p. 409.

recovered; was reconciled to him, and had him conveyed in a litter to Edinburgh. Darnley was not lodged at Holyrood, but at St Mary's-in-the-Fields, within the walls of Edinburgh. This church, with the houses attached, had been ruined by the Edinburgh mob in the riot of 1559; but one of the clergy houses was made habitable, furniture and tapestry being brought from the royal stores at Holyrood.[1] The Church of St Mary's, known as "the Kirk-o'-Fields," stood on what is now the site occupied by Edinburgh University. Sunday, 9th February 1567, was a day of festivity at Holyrood, for Bastiat, one of the Queen's favourite French servants, was being married to one of her women. Mary was much interested, and had provided the wedding dress for the bride—"black satin to be a goun with wide sleeves."[2] The Queen attended the wedding dinner, and then proceeded to a farewell banquet in honour of a special envoy from the King of Savoy, who had come to Scotland for the Prince's baptism. Afterward Mary went to see her husband, having promised to spend the night in the room prepared for her at the Kirk-o'-Fields. About ten o'clock, however, when sitting beside her husband, she rose, saying that she had forgotten that she had promised to attend the masque to be performed in honour of Bastiat's wedding, and returned to the Palace by torchlight. A few hours after an explosion startled all Edinburgh, and when the citizens rushed out to the Kirk-o'-Fields they found the house blown up, and the bodies of Darnley and his attendant lying dead a short distance from the ruins.

Public opinion at once fixed on the Earl of Bothwell

[1] A list of these articles will be found at p. 177 of 'Inventories of Queen Mary.'

[2] Treasurer's Accounts, 1567, p. 94.

as the perpetrator of the ghastly crime, and subsequent events proved that the public was right. Unfortunately Bothwell connected the crime with Holyrood Palace. Those who love criminology may read all the details of Darnley's murder in 'Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials,'[1] for one by one the minor actors in the tragedy were hunted down and brought to justice. Bothwell was in residence at the time of the murder "in his ludging in the Abbay of Holyrudhous"—the suite of rooms in the Palace which had been assigned to him; his bodyguard of notable ruffians were living partly in the Palace, partly in rooms in the Canongate. The powder used for blowing up the Kirk-o'-Fields house was brought from the Castle of Dunbar, then in possession of the Earl, and was stored in Holyrood before it was taken to the scene of the explosion. Bothwell himself led the way to the Kirk-o'-Fields, and it was his name that made the porter open the Nether Bow Port; it was he who fired the train which blew up the fated house. Having completed his work, he returned to his "ludging" in the Palace, and went to bed, to be aroused shortly after by the news of Darnley's death. The King's body was embalmed at the cost of £40,[2] and was buried a week later "in Holyrudhous, beside James fifth in his sepulchre, quietly."[3] The Queen got a mourning gown, her bed and chairs and the Chapel Royal were draped in black, and the servants received mourning.[4] The death of the King did not prevent the marriage of Margaret Carwood, the Queen's favourite bedchamber-woman, taking place next day, the Queen giving the wedding dress. On the 16th—a week after

[1] Vol. i. pp. 493-513.
[2] Treasurer's Accounts, 1566-67, p. 95.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 106.
[4] Treasurer's Accounts, 1567, p. 96.

the murder—the Queen went to Seton Castle, ten miles east of Edinburgh, on a visit to Lord Seton, one of her most loyal supporters.

For some time no steps were taken to detect the murderers of Darnley, although placards were attached to the Cross and to the doors of St Giles' Church naming Bothwell, and representations were made to the Queen by the English and French Sovereigns urging her to proceed against the murderers. At last, on 12th April, in answer to repeated demands from the murdered man's father, who named Bothwell as the murderer, a Court of his peers was chosen to try the case against Bothwell, and Lennox was called to prove his charge, the Crown remaining neutral. When the day of the trial approached, Bothwell brought three or four thousand of his armed followers to Edinburgh, and the Earl of Lennox thought it expedient not to appear. The Court had therefore no course which it could adopt but to acquit, but it recorded that not a particle of evidence had been produced—nothing but the indictment.[1]

On the 28th April the Queen went from Holyrood to Stirling to visit the young Prince, and returning two days after, "Bothwell, accompanied by seven or eight hundred men and friends, met our Sovereign lady between Kirkliston and Edinburgh, at a place called 'the Briggs,' and there took her person to the Castle of Dunbar."[2] This was the first step towards marriage; the next was to get quit of the wife whom Bothwell had only fourteen months before married with great pomp at Holyrood. Lady Bothwell was very accommodating—probably she had not found Bothwell a satisfactory husband; she brought

[1] Burton's History of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 371.
[2] Diurnal, p. 109.

an action of divorce against her husband before the Court of Session, on the plea of adultery with one of her servants. The Court acted with unwonted promptitude, and divorce was granted on the 3rd May. On the 15th of the same month Queen Mary was married to Bothwell, who had been created Duke of Orkney, "in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, at a preaching by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in the great hall for the Council uses to sit, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the Chapel, at the Mass, as was the King's marriage."[1] It may be noted that the marriage took place in the Hall in which the Privy Council sat, and not in either the Abbey Church or the Chapel Royal within the Palace. An old chronicler of the time tells that "thair was not many of the nobilitie of this realm thairat; at this marriage thair was neither plesour nor pastyme usit, as use was wont to be usit when princes were mariyt."[2]

Mary spent this honeymoon, like the former one, at Holyrood Palace, and the old records give some peeps of its joyousness. Sir James Melville tells that he went to Holyrood on the evening of the wedding day and found the Duke of Orkney in his apartments—the rooms which had been Darnley's—at supper with some friends. The Duke asked him to join, but Melville had already supped; "then he called for a cup of wine that I might pledge him like a Dutchman," and told him to "drink it out and grow fatter." Then "he fell in purpose of gentlewomen, speaking such filthy language that I left him and passed up to the Queen, who was very glad of my coming."[3] Melville relates another visit, when "Arthur Erskine and I being present, heard her ask a knife to

[1] Melville's Memoirs, p. 178. [2] Diurnal, p. 112.
[3] Melville, p. 178.

stick herself, or else, said she, I shall drown myself. He (Bothwell) was so beastly and suspicious that he suffered her not to pass over a day in patience, or making her cause to shed abundance of salt tears."[1] Du Croc, the French Ambassador, in a letter to the Queen Dowager of France, of date 18th May,[2] confirms the account which Melville gives of the Queen's misery, and tells that she had intreated him to endeavour to reconcile Bothwell with the nobles. It was to live this kind of life for one calendar month, from 15th May to 15th June, that Mary Stewart sacrificed her honour and her crown.

For the moral sense of Scotland had been outraged by the events of these months, and even before the marriage had taken place—as told in a letter from Robert Melville, the brother of Sir James, to Sir William Cecil—a meeting of nobles had been held at Stirling for the purpose of revenging Darnley's murder, "and that both Protestant and Papist joined earnestly for the weal of their country."[3] It required a union of forces to overthrow Bothwell, who had been intrusted by the Queen with wide authority, and given large grants of land. The lords purposed to seize the Queen and Bothwell at Holyrood, but having received warning they escaped to Borthwick Castle, a strong old keep, 12 miles from Edinburgh; and when Lord Morton and Lord Hume appeared before Borthwick with a body of horse, the fugitives took refuge in the Castle of Dunbar. Here they were in Bothwell's own country. The confederate lords took possession of Edinburgh, held a meeting of Privy Council, and issued a proclamation calling out a levy for the purpose of rescuing the Queen from Bothwell's power. The proclamation

[1] Melville, p. 182. [2] Teulet, vol. ii. p. 154.
[3] Cal. of Scottish Papers, vol. ii. p. 327.

states that the "Earl had seducit be unlesum wayes oure said Soverane to ane unhonest mariage with himself"; and further, that he "purposed to commit the lyke murthour upoun the sone as wes upon the fader."[1]

Having collected what forces they could, the lords marched eastward from Edinburgh, and were met at Carberry Hill by the Queen's following on the 15th June. After some skirmishing the Queen's troops began to desert, and Mary fearing for Bothwell's life urged him to flee. As soon as he had sufficient time for escape, she surrendered herself to Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange. The lords at once led Mary back to Edinburgh, arriving at nine o'clock at night; they did not take their prisoner to Holyrood Palace, but to the house of the Provost, which was situated on the north side of the High Street, where the Council Chambers now stand. The Queen had a very hostile reception, the women especially being bitter in their abuse.

The story of the next day is told in the letters of Du Croc, who was a trusted servant of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medici. The letters[2] relate how Queen Mary appeared at the windows of the Provost's house in a state of undress, and appealed to the people to rescue her. That Maitland of Lethington tried on behalf of the lords to induce her to consent to a legal separation from Bothwell, but that she passionately declared that she would live and die with her husband. The impossibility of making terms with the Queen, the difficulty of restraining the Edinburgh mob, along with the knowledge that the Hamiltons had gathered a force at Linlithgow for the purpose of rescuing Mary, seem to have forced the confederate lords to take

[1] Register, Privy Council, vol. i. p. 520.

[2] Teulet's Papiers d'Etat, vol. ii. pp. 154 *et seq.*

sudden action. About nine o'clock at night the Queen was conducted under a strong guard from the Provost's house to Holyrood Palace, and then when darkness set in, she with a few personal attendants was taken to Leith, thence across the Firth of Forth, and through Fife to Lochleven Castle, which was reached on the following day, 17th June 1567. Mary Stewart did not again see Holyrood Palace.

Two events which followed may be noted. Two days after the Queen reached Lochleven Castle, "the Earl of Glencarne, taking with him his domestics only, went to the Chapel"—the Chapel Royal within Holyrood House—"demolished the altar, breaking the pictures, and demolishing all the ornaments within the same."[1] In the following October the Treasurer's Accounts show that the Queen's coffers were transported from Holyrood House to the Castle of Edinburgh, and that the Queen's tapestries followed shortly after.[2] So Mary's most valued possessions passed out of Holyrood also.

The Edinburgh of the Stewart kings is now the kernel of the modern city. On the west, the town which the Stewarts knew terminates in the Castle, and on the summit of its rock, adhering to the out-crop of the basalt, is a little Norman chapel; on the east, the old city ends at Holyrood Palace. Chapel and Palace each brings back the memory of a notable Queen of Scotland. The little chapel, high pitched above the dust and noise of the city, tells of a noble woman — Margaret, Saint and Queen. Driven into the estuary of the Forth by the stormy North Sea, she came a stranger into a wild and semi-savage

[1] Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 208.
[2] Treasurer's Accounts, 1567, p. 206.

country, and she won the love of the strong rough man who was King, by her beauty, as she conquered the common people by the compelling power of her womanly purity. Her memory will remain as an inspiration as long as men believe in their better moments that a good woman is the noblest of all the works of God.

Different was Mary Stewart, whose name is indelibly written on Holyrood Palace. She came to Edinburgh five centuries after Margaret, not as a stranger, but as the daughter of the old kings. Her beauty was more resplendent, her intellectual powers and her accomplishments of a higher order. In all ways the two queens are separated by the whole gamut of the qualities which make up a notable woman. Mary Stewart sinned and fell in the same manner as her forebears had done; and she, the bravest of the brave, being a woman, could not make us forget her faults by dying like her grandfather where the killed were lying thickest on Flodden Hill. Mary Stewart died a prisoner away from Scotland, but she has found a grave and a monument in Westminster Abbey, near her great cousin and rival, Queen Elizabeth, and there in that noble National "Temple of Reconciliation" we may leave her at rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOLYROOD AS THE HOME OF JAMES VI.

When the curtain falls on Mary Stewart's last appearance on the stage of Holyrood, the spectator feels that there has been enacted before him a drama full of the deepest tragedy. After an interval the curtain rises again and her son is the performer on this same stage, but the spectator recognises him as an actor in comedy who sometimes descends to the level of comic opera. The mother is a noble figure, one of the women whose career, with its woeful ending, will always command the interest and sympathy of mankind. Born the "daughter of a hundred kings," endowed with splendid gifts of mind and body, she played her part for a brief period on a stage singularly ill adapted to her character and her training, and made sad shipwreck of her noble womanhood. The son was everything the mother was not—he is a singular exception to all the accepted laws of heredity. In person he was uncomely and shambling; he was a pedant with colossal conceit; he pursued his purposes silently and unrelentingly, sometimes by fair, often by doubtful means; himself a man of pure life, he allowed himself to be ruled by men of bad reputation. James possessed ability, and was full of good intentions, but there was a strange twist in his mentality. Notwithstanding, at the end he could smugly smile on

himself, as an eminently successful man who had a right to boast to the English House of Commons,—"This I must say for Scotland, and may truly vaunt it: here I sit and govern it with my pen; I write and it is done; and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now—which others could not do by the sword." God had rewarded him almost as highly as he thought he deserved—given him the English Throne, and made him the absolute monarch of Scotland.

Mary Stewart gave birth to her only child, James, on the 19th June 1566, and within a year she was carried a prisoner to Lochleven Castle; six weeks later, the lords who had dethroned Mary crowned the child in place of the mother, and Scotland entered into a long minority. Mary's brother, the Earl of Moray, almost of necessity was chosen Regent, as he was the only man who could rule the distracted country, but before his task was almost begun his dastardly murder at Linlithgow, in January 1570, threw the country back into anarchy. The body of "the Good Regent" was brought by sea down the Firth of Forth to Leith, carried to Holyrood, and thence borne to St Giles' Church, where Knox preached an eloquent and impressive sermon before the coffin was buried in St Anthony's aisle. During the next three years one Regent followed another in rapid succession, until the government passed into the iron hand of the Earl of Morton, who, with the help of England, restored something like peace. During these years—1570-73—Holyrood suffered along with Edinburgh all the horrors of civil war. The Queen's party held the Castle, and its guns gave them the command of the capital; the King's men had their headquarters at Leith, so Holyrood Palace was immediately in the fighting line. In April 1571, Kirkcaldy of Grange, who commanded the

Queen's troops in the Castle, seized and fortified Holyrood.[1] By July it had passed into the hands of the Regent for the time being, who garrisoned it with a hundred hagbutteers under Captain Michael, and fortified the "foreyett."[2] Then Kirkcaldy brought out of the Castle to the roof of a tall house in Blackfriars Wynd a "grit cannone and ane grose culvering" to batter the Palace, and fired fifteen or sixteen shots, without doing much damage.[3] So the cruel struggle went on. In the beginning of 1573 Morton became Regent. He induced Queen Elizabeth to send north a force under Drury, whose heavy guns knocked the defences of Edinburgh Castle to pieces; and in May, the Queen's party as a fighting force passed out of existence. Morton, the Regent, proceeded to occupy Holyrood, and during the next five years lived partly at the Palace and partly at his own house, the Castle of Dalkeith. At Holyrood, in April 1573, he held a Parliament—"The Regent's grace with the nobility passed out of the Tower of the Abbey through the inward Close to the North Hall thereof;"[4] in the Palace, shortly afterwards, he entertained an Ambassador from the English Queen.

Morton continued as Regent, with undiminished power, until 1578; he reduced the country to order, but on account of his insatiable greed and the unscrupulous manner in which he enriched himself, became heartily hated by all classes. Meanwhile, the young King James was spending a strange boyhood in Stirling Castle, under the charge of the Erskines, the hereditary tutors of the heir to the Scottish throne; the office was held first by the Earl of Mar, and on his death by his brother. James grew up a strange boy, over-developed in brain, rickety in body. He

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 202.
[2] Ibid., p. 232.
[3] Ibid., p. 234.
[4] Ibid., p. 331.

had as tutors two most formidable teachers — George Buchanan, one of the finest scholars of his century, and Peter Young, also a competent scholar. They managed to make James an infant prodigy. The English Ambassador of the time had an interview with the King, when he had just completed his eighth year, and reports:[1] "He speaketh the French tongue marvellous well, and that which seems strange to me, he was able extempore to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English, so well, as few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters, Mr George Buchanan and Mr Peter Young (rare men), caused me to appoint the King what chapter I would, whereby I perceived it was not studied for." But while James's brain was over-stimulated, his body remained undeveloped. As the old chronicler writes, after James had grown to manhood: "His legs were very weak, having had, as was thought, some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, so that he was not able to stand at seven years of age."[2] The boy seems to have been very closely shut up in Stirling Castle for fear he might be kidnapped, for we find it recorded that on the 12th June 1579, James left the Castle for the first time "with servants only"[3]— that is to say, without any military escort.

After this boyhood—which was scarcely a boyhood at all, James was made King "de facto," when he had just completed his thirteenth year. On the 29th September 1579 he left Stirling with a great following, and spent the night at Linlithgow. "He come to Halyrudhous the nixt night, and comming by the long geat"—now Princes Street —"the toun of Edinburgh met him in thair armes, being

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. v. p. 13.

[2] Note to Chapter v., Fortunes of Nigel. [3] Moysie's Memoirs, p. 22.

with him twa thousand horsmen or thereby."[1] From that time until 1603, when James went south to occupy the English Throne, Holyrood House was his home. A few days after taking up residence there, James made his formal entry as King into Edinburgh as the capital city, being received at the West Port by the Municipal Authorities, and passing through gaily-decorated streets, as his mother had done before him, he returned to the Palace. On the 8th October James was present for the first time at a meeting of the Privy Council in Holyrood, and here the Council met, as a rule, during the whole of James's reign, the King being regular in his attendance.

A few days before James left Stirling there had arrived in Scotland to visit the King a man who was to affect Scottish history to a considerable degree for some years, and was to figure as the first of the many "favourites," who, each in his day, were to be all-powerful in James's Court. This was Esmé Stewart, Seigneur d'Aubigny. He belonged to the Lennox blood, being cousin to the King's father. Esmé's father, John Stewart, had emigrated to France, taking up the lordship of Aubigny, which one of his ancestors had won, and became a naturalised Frenchman. The King at once took a violent fancy to Esmé, who, as the old memoirs say, was "a man of comlie proportion, civil behaviour, red-bearded, honest in conversation, well liked by the King and a part of his nobility at the first;"[2] his age was about thirty. James carried his relative with him to Holyrood when he left Stirling, and on October 5 the English ambassador reported that "D'Aubigny's ludging is prepared—the nearest and fairest to the King."[3] The

[1] Moysie's Memoirs, p. 25. [2] Ibid.
[3] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. v. p. 357.

King proceeded to load his relative with honours and wealth.[1] Esmé at once took his place as head of the French party in Scotland, as opposed to Morton, who had always been a Protestant and strong supporter of the English alliance.

A worthy supporter to Esmé, now created Earl of Lennox, was found in the person of the Captain of the King's Guard, formed for the King in October 1580:[2] the Guard consisted of thirty men, mostly sons and brothers of noblemen and barons. The Captain was named James Stewart; he was the second son of Lord Ochiltree, a prominent Reformer; his sister Margaret was the second wife of John Knox. Stewart, who is described as a very handsome man, had been well educated, had travelled widely, and had served as a soldier of fortune in France and Sweden; he was undoubtedly one of the most finished blackguards of his time. Stewart provided a woman to lead the Court at Holyrood—Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Atholl. She was married to the Earl of March, but he was an old man and did not count for much, so she divorced him and married Stewart: the marriage and the circumstances attending it outraged the public conscience to an unusual extent, although it was not easily shocked in this age. The historians of the time show unusual unanimity in speaking of this woman. The Presbyterian Calderwood calls her "that vile and impudent woman over famous for her monstrous doings";[3] while the High Churchman, Archbishop Spottiswoode, describes her as "a woman intolerable in all the imperfections incident to that sex."[4] It is pleasant to find two such keen

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 322.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 654.
[4] History, p. 315.

controversialists agreeing on any subject. Stewart, before the marriage, was made Earl of Arran. This trio—Lennox, Arran, and Lady Arran—ruled the King, and through him Scotland, for some years, and gave the tone to the Court in which the young King grew up; it was not a healthy atmosphere in which the boy lived.

Before, however, Lennox and Arran could be secure in their position, Morton had to be got out of the way. His grip on the country had been slackening. In 1578 the nobles of the Queen's faction had risen against him, but after a few months he regained his power, and during the whole of 1580 he kept his place as Chancellor, and therefore Chairman of the Privy Council, which really ruled Scotland. On the last day of December 1580, the Privy Council being in session in its chamber in Holyrood House and the boy-King presiding, the Usher announced that the Captain of the Guard wished to be heard. When admitted, Arran knelt before the King, and pointing to the Earl of Morton, said that "That man now sitting at this table" had been concerned in the murder of the King's father.[1] Morton replied with spirit, and swords were drawn, but the other members of Council interfered, and on the suggestion of the Justice Clerk, Morton was "warded" in his apartments in the Palace.[2] Thence he was taken to the Castle, and in a few days to Dumbarton Castle, of which Lennox was keeper. After some months, Morton was brought back to Edinburgh, tried on the charge of being engaged in the murder of Darnley, found guilty on June 1, 1581, and beheaded at the Cross next day. With Morton there passed away the last of the strong men who had accomplished the Scottish Reformation. James Stewart,

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. xxxiii. [2] Moysie's Memoirs, p. 28.

Earl of Moray, had been murdered in Linlithgow in 1570; John Knox had died in his bed in 1572; William Maitland had himself ended his life in 1573; Kirkcaldy of Grange was hanged a few days afterwards; and now Morton followed them. It seemed as if the fire of religious enthusiasm had destroyed its children, and an onlooker might have imagined that already, after only twenty years, the Church of the Reformation in Scotland was near its end.

Lennox was now supreme, and in August was made a Duke. His hold on the King seemed sure, for he amused James as he had never been amused before. The only drawback was that the magnificent Captain of the Guard demanded a share of the plunder, and his wife and he were not easily satisfied. Two things resulted from Lennox's triumph—the party of Mary Stewart was rehabilitated, and the Presbyterian Church was humbled. The year 1585 saw a change which was permanently to alter the policy of the Scottish Government. The King, young as he was, had already set his heart on the succession to the throne of England, and for this purpose had been negotiating with the Pope so as to secure the support of the Catholic party in England, which then seemed to be gaining power. Queen Elizabeth's able advisers resolved in consequence that the time had come to make an agreement with James. The negotiations were begun through a new adventurer, who had thrust himself forward at the Court of Holyrood —the Master of Gray. Gray was a clever, good-looking scoundrel, as unscrupulous as the favourites whom he was trying to supplant. Following the negotiations begun by Gray, the English Government sent Dr Wotton as special envoy. Wotton was a courtier and an adroit man; he brought with him a present of horses for the King, and

one of his attendants taught James to ride them;[1] Wotton hunted with the King at Falkland and proved himself a "good fellow." A league between England and Scotland was agreed on, and James graciously accepted a pension of £5000 a year from Queen Elizabeth.

The History of Scotland now becomes more domestic. Scotland was deeply stirred when the news came at the close of 1586 that Queen Mary had been condemned to death, but her son did not declare war on Elizabeth when the axe fell at Fotheringay on the 8th of February 1587. James had not seen his mother since he was an infant; he had nothing of the knight-errant in his character; possibly the pension he enjoyed from England helped to soothe his natural grief and reasonable resentment. Nor did James give any assistance to the Spanish Armada when in 1588 it spread its great sails for the conquest of England. James had had correspondence with Philip of Spain as well as with the Pope when he was on the Catholic "tack"; now he was a very strong Protestant.

In the year in which Mary Stewart died—1587—James came of age, and he celebrated the event in a fitting way. The most striking part of the celebration was a great Feast of Reconciliation at Holyrood House. "The King reconciled the noblemen who were at variance, and upon the Lord's day, the 14th of May, made a bankett unto them. The King drank to them thrice; willed them to make concord and peace; and vowed to be a mortall enemie to him who first brake."[2] Next day, after supper at the Palace, there was a public exhibition of this new spirit of peace and goodwill, in the form of a procession on foot; it passed from Holyrood to the Castle and back to the Cross. "The

[1] Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. vii. p. 670.
[2] Privy Council Register, vol. iv. p. 169.

King, with my Lord Hamilton on the right hand and the Secretary on the left, the Duke and Lord Claud in other's hands before the King, Angus and Montrose in hands," and others following. "The Croce was covered with tapestrie, and on it the trumpeters blowing and the musicians singing." The Provost and Bailies had provided a table "furnished with bread and wyne and sweetmeates," so everybody drank every other body's health; "and there was great mirth and joy, with sick ane great number of pepill as the lyk had not been seen of befoir."[1] The High Street never witnessed a stranger sight than this procession of the nobles of Scotland marching two by two like school children, each holding the hand of his hereditary enemy.

The year 1589 was to bring out the adventurous in James's character. He had been negotiating for some time with the King of Denmark regarding a wife, and the Privy Council Minutes record difficulties about settlements. His affections had to be transferred, moreover, from one princess to another; the elder daughter of the Danish king was proffered in the first place, but it was Anna, the younger, who had the honour of marrying James. Holyrood had been put in order, a thousand pounds being advanced for the purpose by the town of Edinburgh;[2] and two merchants of Edinburgh had gone to London to buy furnishings and jewellery, with a letter in their hand from the King himself to the great Lord Burghley asking him to forward their business, because, as the King wrote, "it is ane extraordinarie occasion."[3] Then the Earl Marischal, with a fitting suite,

[1] Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 613.

[2] Privy Council Reg., vol. iv. p. 471.

[3] Letter quoted "Marriage of James VI." (Bannatyne Club), Appendix.

passed to Denmark in July 1580, and in the King's name entered into the contract of marriage. So by the beginning of September the King was waiting impatiently for his bride, when news arrived that the ship in which she travelled had been driven back by a great storm; and on the 10th October a special messenger from Anna came with a message that her vessel and the fleet which convoyed it had experienced a terrible storm, and been driven back on the coast of Norway, and that the vessels had been so much damaged that they could not face the voyage until the spring. The news roused all that was heroic in James's nature, and he resolved to go to his bride as she could not come to him. The workings of his mind before he came to this resolution are detailed at considerable length in the Minutes of Privy Council.[1] So James took up his abode in Leith to superintend the outfit of five ships, and on the 19th October set sail, accompanied by his Chancellor and a great suite of nobles, for Norway, where his bride was residing. But a "deadlie storme" struck the fleet before it left the Forth, and it had to "lie to, foranent St Monans," until the 22nd, when at last it found a fair wind to take it across the North Sea. The origin of this series of storms ought to be clearly set forth. As proved at a trial recorded in the Proceedings of the High Court of Justiciary on the 27th January 1590, the Powers of Evil had determined to prevent the union of James and Anna, and the devil himself had come down—or should it be up?—to urge his servants to do their utmost to raise terrific storms so as to keep the loving couple separate. The Potentate held a meeting in the kirk of North Berwick with the witches of East and Mid-Lothian; those who

[1] Vol. iv. p. 427.

are curious regarding costume will be interested to learn that the devil on this occasion wore a "black gown with a black hat on his head," and that "there were claws on his hands and feet like the griffon."[1] The witches did their very best to answer the call of their master: those of Mid-Lothian baptised a cat in the "Wobstaires" house after imposing ceremonial, and cast it into the sea from the end of Leith pier; their sisters of East Lothian doing the same from the pier of Prestonpans.[2] It is little wonder that the German Ocean remained terribly disturbed for a lengthened period, and the courage of the King in facing the powers of evil is the more to be commended.

James landed safely in Norway on the 28th October, and proceeded across country to Upslo, where he arrived on the 19th November, and on the 23rd the marriage of James and Anna took place in the great church of Upslo, David Lindsay, minister of Leith, performing the ceremony. Next day the King conveyed by deed to the Queen the Lordship of Dunfermline in "Morrowing Gift," — the morrowing, or morning, gift being the present from husband to wife on the morning after marriage.[3] From Norway the royal pair crossed to Denmark, and spent some time with the Danish royal family at Elsinore.

When the spring of 1590 arrived, and the sorceries of the witches had had time to work off, the King and Queen came to Scotland, landing at Leith on the 1st May 1590. The fleet consisted of thirteen sail, partly Scottish, requisitioned from the towns of the East Coast; partly Danish, these being commanded by Peter Munck,

[1] Marriage of James VI., p. xiii. [2] Ibid., p. xv.
[3] Ibid., p. 17.

Admiral of Denmark. James had sent from Norway most elaborate instructions regarding all the ceremonies connected with his reception.[1] Among other orders, the King instructed that three houses within the precincts of Holyrood Palace should be fitted up for the guests who would accompany Anna from Denmark. These houses were the "new gallerie quarter" of the Palace, which had just been built; the house of the Bishop of Orkney, who, as Commendator of Holyrood, had an official residence; and the Lady Gowrie's, the house built on the site which had been conferred on the Ruthvens by Queen Mary. The two latter had been formed out of the ruined buildings of the Monastery. Although the authorities had had sufficient warning, Holyrood House was not ready, so the royal couple on landing took up their abode in the "King's Wark" at Leith until the 6th May, when they proceeded to Holyrood.[2] The royal procession must have been an imposing one, consisting of the most part of the nobility, "with the Burgesses of Edinburgh, of Leith, of Fisherrow, of Musselburgh, of Prestonpans, of Dalkeith, etc." The King was on horseback, the Queen rode in "her chariot drawn with eight horses, caparisoned in velvet, embroidered in silver and gold very rich."[3]

On Sunday, the 17th May, Anna was crowned in the Abbey Church, which was fitted up for the occasion. In Queen Mary's time the chapel inside the Palace had been used by the Court for worship; but James required a larger building for the coronation ceremonial, so the Abbey Church, then used as the Parish Church of the Canongate, was taken. The ceremonial began

[1] Marriage of James VI., p. 29. [2] Moysie, p. 83.
[3] Marriage of James VI., p. 38.

with the making of fifteen knights and the elevation of the Chancellor, Sir John Maitland, to the Barony of Thirlstane-on-Leader. Then the several processions passed from the Palace to the Abbey Church. The leading nobles were there, and "efter them followit the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and certain other of the principal towns of Scotland, who came there for this effect."[1] The presence of the representatives of the burghs is a proof of the importance which the Reformation had given to the towns of Scotland—Edinburgh and Dundee especially having become a power in the State. The King followed, preceded by the Heralds and the Honours of Scotland; the Earl of Angus, the head of the great house of Douglas, bearing the sword; the Lord Hamilton, the sceptre; and the Duke of Lennox, the young son of the Seigneur d'Aubigny, the crown: the King wore his purple robe. Next came the Queen's procession: she "cled with her accustomt apparrell," preceded by certain noblemen of Denmark "magnificently apparelled, having chains set with diamonds about their necks;" the Chancellor carried the Queen's crown. The Queen was supported by the English Ambassador, Robert Bowes, on the right, and the Admiral of Denmark on the left, and was attended by Scottish ladies of rank, by the wife of the English Ambassador, and by her own Danish ladies-in-waiting. The ceremony began with prayers and a sermon delivered by "Maister Patrick Galloway, the King's Minister." There followed the anointing: the Countess of Mar opened the neck of the Queen's gown, and Robert Bruce, the Minister of St Giles' Church, poured a "bonnie quantity of oil" on breast and arm. The Queen then withdrew and put on her "princelie robe," and when she

[1] Marriage of James VI., p. 50.

had resumed her former seat, the King received the Queen's crown, and instructed the Duke, Lord Hamilton, and the Chancellor, to place it on the Queen's head. In the same way the sceptre was brought to the King, and delivered to the Rev. Robert Bruce to be handed to the Queen, who then took the oath. The heralds proclaimed the Queen, and the people answered "God save her Majestie." Andrew Melville, Principal of the Theological College of St Andrews, next made an oration in two hundred Latin verses; more prayers followed, and the different orders, nobles, clergy, and provosts and lairds, swore fealty; lastly, Patrick Galloway pronounced the benediction, and the King and Queen's procession withdrew in the same order in which they came.

Two days after the coronation the Queen made her state entry into Edinburgh. Proceeding by the south side of the gardens of the Canongate, she entered the town by the West Port, where a Latin oration was delivered. She passed in her state coach with its eight horses through the elaborately decorated streets; a canopy of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, was held over her by six ancient townsmen. There were the usual allegories and shows, and a sermon in St Giles. The King stayed at Holyrood, and his young wife did the entry alone. James was now twenty-four years of age: Anna not yet sixteen, being born 12th December 1574. Another ceremonial closed the coronation festivities. The Earl of Worcester arrived on the 7th June as ambassador extraordinary from England, with a train of "three or four score horses," bearing Queen Elizabeth's "propyne" to the young Queen: the gift consisted of a clock, richly wrought and set with jewels, and a "carket of pearls." [1]

[1] Moysie, 84.

The Scottish Treasurer's Accounts prove how the marriage festivities weighed on the national finances, which were not in a robust condition. The King's outfit had been largely bought in London, as has already been told, and of course cost much money; the officiating clergy received clothing, and the servants' liveries; the Abbey Church was fitted up.[1] The most interesting entry is that for the purchase of 24 blue gowns and 24 purses, each containing 24 shillings, which Mr Peter Young, "Elemosynar," provided for 24 old men "according to the years of his highness' age." This Mr Peter Young was the King's former tutor, who had been made "Elemosynar," or almoner,[2] and a member of Privy Council; he afterwards received a knighthood, and figures in the sederunt of Privy Council as "Sir Peter Young of Seyton," down to 1619. The King remembered his principal tutor, George Buchanan, also; he too attends the Privy Council under the title of Lord Privy Seal,[3] and must have had rooms in the Palace, as there is a reference in 1589 to "George Buchanan's Chamber gable on East Quarter" of the Palace. The manner in which the King honoured his tutors is very much to his credit.

Holyrood was from the time of his marriage until he left Scotland in 1603 to occupy the English throne, very thoroughly identified with James's life and policy. The Court frequently went to Falkland for hunting, of which James was very fond; it occasionally settled for a short time at Stirling or Linlithgow; but Holyrood was James's principal place of residence. A very strange master of a palace James must have been: shambling in his ways;

[1] Marriage of James VI., Appendix 2.
[2] Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. p. xi.
[3] Ibid., vol. iii. p. xvi.

dirty and untidy in apparel; a shocking gossip; utterly undignified; interfering in the minutest details even of his children's nursery; absurdly timorous in an age when swords were always flashing. There is a quaint description of the King's appearance from the pen of Sir Anthony Weldon, a member of the royal household when it was transferred to London.[1] Weldon described James "as of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body; yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy; his doublets quilted for stiletto-proof; his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger came in his presence, inasmuch as many for shame have left the room, being out of countenance; his beard very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth. His legs were very weak; that weakness made him ever leaning on men's shoulders. His walk was ever circular." James was a strange descendant of the handsome race from which he sprang.

As quaint as his personal appearance were many of the King's ways; they are set forth with great humour in Scott's novel of 'The Fortunes of Nigel.' His early training under George Buchanan was ever prompting him to pedantic displays of his learning, which may have impressed his contemporaries, but sound absurd to us now. Then he had a most undignified habit of inventing nicknames for those with whom he came into constant contact. His well-known Prime Minister, Lord Haddington, he called "Tam o' th' Cougate," from his town-house in the Cowgate of Edinburgh. His banker and goldsmith, George Heriot, was known as "Jingling Geordie," from the supposed clinking of his coin. In later days at Whitehall, his favourite, the stately Duke of Buckingham, had to submit to bear the

[1] Quoted in Hill Burton's History, vol. vi. p. 62.

name of "Steenie," from some imaginary likeness to the martyr Stephen; while the haughty and dignified Prince of Wales suffered under the pet name of "Baby Charles." In Edinburgh there still linger tales of the friendly relations in which the Master of Holyrood Palace lived with many of the citizens, and the free-and-easy manner in which he made use of the houses and larders of his gossips in the town. One virtue the King possessed which covered a multitude of faults,—he was a sincere lover of peace, and delighted to discourse in learned fashion on his favourite maxim, "Blessed are the Peacemakers."

There is much curious information regarding the Court at Holyrood during the years after the King's marriage, especially what is derived from "The Estate of the King and Queen Majesties Household Reformet."[1] The list of the household contains nearly 200 names, headed by the Duke of Lennox as Chamberlain. The household differs from Queen Mary's in a marked way, in so far as hers was almost entirely French and her son's Scots. Queen Anna had two Danish ladies-in-waiting, and she brought her own chaplain, and secretary, and cook; but the Laird of Melgund acted as Master of the Queen's Household, and "the young Laird of Polwarth" as Gentleman of her Chamber. Queen Mary trusted to French medical skill, but Gilbert Moncrieff was now the Holyrood "medecinar" and John Nasmyth "chirurgian." Even the Royal cooks bore the native names of William Lamb for the King's kitchen and James Murray for the Court. There is one quaint entry "palfurmers (performers) VIII in nowmer, of quhom he that keepis the camel is ane"; so a camel must have been added to the Royal collection of animals. The tables for the various grades and allowances of

[1] Marriage of James VI., Appendix 3.

food for the different "messes" are also carefully laid down.

One subject is very recurrent all through the Minutes of the Privy Council during these years—the impecuniousness of the Court and of the country. It is stated baldly in a minute of February 1591: "The expense of the King's house so much increased by his marriage that order is given to coin 200 oz. of 'utter fyne' gold."[1] But "fyne gold" was not always forthcoming, so the King had to borrow as best he could; the goldsmiths were the bankers of the time, and to them he had to resort. On 30th September 1594 there is an interesting entry:[2] Thomas Foulis, goldsmith, burgess of Edinburgh, lends his Majesty £12,000 "for intredding of sundry of his Hienes particulair effears specially the payment of the wageis of horsemen and futemen levied for the advancement of his Hienes authorities and service in the North pairtes of this realm." The rate of interest was to be 10 per cent, and Foulis receives in security the pension of £5000 which James received from England; a celebrated family piece of jewellery called the "H"; and permission to mint into coin of the realm two drinking-cups of gold already pledged to him.

The King had dealings also with an abler business man than Foulis; he patronised another goldsmith—George Heriot, junior. On 22nd March 1599, the King purchased jewels costing £6100 from Heriot and gave him security.[3] Heriot was now in the ascendant, for on the 27th July 1597 he had been made Queen's goldsmith, intimation being given at the Cross "by open proclamation and sound of trumpet."[4] To suit the Queen and to further his own

[1] Privy Council Reg., vol. iv. p. 574.
[2] Ibid., vol. v. p. 172.
[3] Ibid., vol. v. pp. 542, 543.
[4] Birrel's Diary, p. 44.

fortune, Heriot accompanied the Court to London in 1603, and there accumulated the wealth which he left for the use of the poor of his native city. The national finances went from bad to worse, until on 9th January 1596 the King appointed a committee of eight, who were called the Octavians, to take over the Exchequer.[1] This had some effect in checking waste and in putting the finances into better order.

A strange light is thrown on the life of the time and the ways of Holyrood Palace by the escapades of one of the King's relatives, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. He was one of the wildest and most reckless men of his time. This Bothwell was the son of Lord John Stewart, a half-brother of Queen Mary, his mother being Lady Jane Hepburn, a sister of the Earl of Bothwell who married the Queen. After the death of Queen Mary's Bothwell, King James conferred the Earldom on this young cousin, for whom he had a great affection. But King and Earl quarrelled, and Bothwell became a thorn in the King's side; from April 1591, for four years he carried on a kind of guerilla war against the King. In the spring of 1591 Bothwell was outlawed for notable outrages, but managed to escape into England. On 27th December he made his appearance again in Holyrood Palace at the head of a body of his adherents, with the avowed intention of carrying off the King and Queen, and of murdering Maitland, the Chancellor. They were saved by the intervention of the Provost and burgers of Edinburgh. Next year he made two attempts to seize the King—at Falkland Palace in June 1592, and at Dalkeith House in August. In the Parliament held in the spring of 1593 Bothwell was attainted for his offences, and his

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. v. p. xli.

estates forfeited. But he rose superior to the power of the Scottish law. On the 24th July he made his way into Holyrood Palace through a passage which connected it with the Gowrie House to the east, and presented himself to the King in his bedroom. James was dreadfully frightened and screamed "treason" and "murder." Bothwell kneeled before the King and represented himself as an innocent man who had been unjustly condemned as a traitor. So the two cousins were reconciled, and the King promised pardon and pledged himself to have Bothwell's attainder removed. For two years longer Bothwell continued his mad career, keeping the King in constant fear of a new outbreak, and then he disappeared from Scotland, passed from one country to another, and died at Naples. Bothwell seems to have been a reckless desperado, formidable because he had behind him all the wild spirits of the Scottish borders, but he certainly was supported for political purposes by those nobles who were opposed to the policy of the King and his Chancellor.

The first child of James's marriage, Prince Henry, was born in Stirling Castle on the 19th February 1594, and was baptised in the Chapel Royal there on 30th August. James expected the same implicit obedience from his wife in matters regarding the nursery for the child as he did from the Scottish clergy in things ecclesiastical. In June 1594 a household for Prince Henry was arranged by the Privy Council, and the baby passed out of his mother's keeping into that of the Earl of Mar, as hereditary Keeper of the Prince of Scotland. Naturally the mother did not like the arrangement. Archbishop Spottiswoode relates what followed.[1] "The Queen laboured to have the Prince, her son, in her own custody. Advertisement

[1] History, p. 410.

given of this to the King, who was then at Falkland; he came to the Queen at Halyrudhouse, and inhibiting any of the Council to come toward him till he should call them, dealt so with the Queen that he diverted her from that course, and made her go and remain at Stirling. The King went to Stirling and gave Mar written instructions not to permit the Prince to leave him until his 18th year." Queen Anna was to have her revenge some years after.

The second child, a girl, was born at Holyrood on the 19th August 1596, and baptised there: "The Queen of England's Ambassador, Mr Bowes, holding up the Princess, called her Lady Elizabeth, after the Queen her Majesty, and so was cryed and called by the Lyon Herald, 'Lady Elizabeth, First Daughter of Scotland.'"[1]

James's later years at Holyrood were largely spent in making himself absolute in Church and State: as Professor Masson states in one of his prefaces to the Privy Council Minutes, "at no previous period of the reign of James VI. was he so much the Master of his native kingdom, and of all ranks and classes in it." The King had two objects which he pursued steadfastly: to break the power of the Scottish nobles, and to reduce to subjection the proud and masterful Church of the Reformation. To gain these ends he showed great skill in seizing opportunity. In working out his purpose he used the Palace of Holyrood in a most ingenious way. The King had of course the right to summon Parliament, and he usurped the right to call the General Assembly of the Church, which the Scottish Church has always asserted lies with herself. He used to summon both bodies to meet in Holyrood Palace, finding the surroundings there better suited to his purpose than the

[1] Moysie, p. 127.

Tolbooth or the High Kirk, where the strong-willed Edinburgh mob might interfere. Of course, at Holyrood, the King's Guard kept the gates. From 1593 to 1603 Conventions of Estates met most frequently at Holyrood.[1] In 1596 we find that the King directed the Assembly of the Church, then in session, to adjourn and meet him in Holyrood Palace, as it was inconvenient for him to go to visit it.[2] James Melville mentions in his Diary that a conference of Ministers met at Holyrood in November 1599, "because the Meetings of the last General Assemblies were factious, tumultous, confused, hot, inordourlyth, his Majesty thought fit to appoint this conference."[3] In November 1602 "an Assembly was held in Holyrood for the giving Bishops a seat in Parliament."[4] James's proceedings for the purpose of gaining his ends resembled the ways of an unscrupulous woman rather than of a man, but he was singularly successful in gaining his purpose.

But beyond James's other ambitions, his highest desire was to occupy the throne of England. He had schemed his utmost to arrive at that end. His negotiations with the Pope and King of Spain and his friendliness towards the Scottish Catholics is a curious chapter in his history; his eminent politeness to Queen Elizabeth and her Protestant advisers at a later period is equally amusing. Elizabeth treated him badly: she insisted on living far too long. But in the early months of 1603 it was evident that she was dying, and no successor to the Throne had been adopted, for she had steadily refused to allow Parliament to appoint her successor. James was, however, the

[1] Thomson's Acts, vol. iv. pp. 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 95, 97, 106, 109, 158, 170, 177, 190, 194.

[2] Calderwood, vol. v. p. 727.

[3] Melville, p. 441.

[4] Melville, p. 541, also Privy Council Register.

evident heir. Late in the evening of Saturday, 26th March 1603, the news of his accession to the Throne of England was brought to James at Holyrood House by Sir Thomas Carey. Elizabeth died at her Palace at Richmond, Surrey, on Thursday morning, 24th March, between two and three o'clock, and Carey rode through the Foreyett of Holyrood House before midnight on Saturday the 26th. Elizabeth had been long a-dying, and Carey had time to make arrangements so that he might be the first to bring the news to the new King. Carey arranged for post-horses along the route to Edinburgh, and then planned with his sister, Lady Scrope, one of the ladies-in-waiting, that she should give him intimation of the Queen's death as soon as it happened. The English Privy Council had all the gates of Richmond House guarded, but Lady Scrope managed to throw a ring, given her by King James, from a window to her brother, as intimation that the Queen was dead. Carey, ready for the journey, started to ride up the North Road at once. He covered the 400 miles on horseback between Thursday morning and Saturday night, when he reached Holyrood and brought the news to James, presenting the ring as his credentials. On Thursday, at noon, the English Privy Council proclaimed James at Whitehall and at the Cross in Cheapside, and in the afternoon despatched two gentlemen to Holyrood with a copy of the Proclamation, and a letter signed by the Lord Mayor of London and by most of the members of Council. The messengers of the Council did not arrive at Holyrood till Monday, nearly two days after Carey. James was proclaimed King of Great Britain and Ireland at the Cross of Edinburgh on the last day of March. On the following Sunday, 3rd April, James bade farewell to the citizens of Edinburgh in the High Kirk, after a sermon by the

Rev. John Hall. He told his audience that London was as near Edinburgh as were Inverness or Aberdeen, "as all the marches were dry and there were no ferries"; he promised to visit his native country at least every three year, or oftener if occasion required.[1] On Tuesday, 5th, James rode out at the Foreyett of Holyrood followed by a great train of English and Scottish nobles;[2] many English courtiers had followed Carey's example and rushed North. The Procession passed along the London Road by Seton and Haddington, but did not reach London for a full month, so numerous were the halts and so profuse the hospitality all along the route.

The Queen was left in Holyrood with instructions to follow her lord; she was determined that she would not go without her first-born. She went therefore to Stirling, and demanded that the Prince, whom she had not seen for five years, should be delivered to her; Lady Mar, in the absence of her husband, who had gone south with James, refused to give him up, and wrote at once to the King. In reply, James intimated to the Queen his desire that she should proceed to London; but Anna would not go, and sat down to besiege Stirling Castle. At last the King sent north the Duke of Lennox to take delivery of the boy; he was then surrendered to the Queen and Lennox jointly. Mar received a written "Discharge" from the Scottish Privy Council. Queen Anna's soul was satisfied; she returned to Holyrood in triumph, and on the 31st May brought her boy "to the Great Kirk of Edinburgh ryding in a coache," great crowds turning out to see the Prince. Next day the Queen's procession set out for London.[3] The only member of the Royal Family who was left

[1] Calderwood's History, vol. vi. p. 216. [2] Ibid., p. 221.
[3] Ibid., pp. 231, 232.

in Scotland was the younger prince, afterwards King Charles First, who was thought not strong enough for the journey.

Then the blinds were drawn down in Holyrood Palace. The Privy Council, at a meeting of 9th June, instructed the Lord Chancellor and the Clerk of Register to make an inventory of the furniture left in the Palace.[1] They found in the Council Chamber a clock; in the room above the Queen's private room two pieces of tapestry; in the Master of Works' outer room a Turkey carpet, and in his bedroom a broken bed, and a few other pieces of old furniture scattered about; everything else had been carried off to London. The doors were locked and the keys handed over to Thomas Fenton, "keipar of the said Palace."

One arrangement had to be made if the King's intention of governing Scotland by means of the post was to take effect — a regular post between Edinburgh and London had to be established. So on the 28th April, the Privy Council arranged with John Killodie, "indwellar in the Canongate, that he should continually keep ready, for the service of his Majesty's letters, two able and sufficient Post Horses with furniture."[2] And on the 17th May, William Arnot in Cockburnspath appeared before the Council and undertook in like manner to keep three post-horses always ready, so as to send on his Majesty's packets within a quarter of an hour after receipt, by day and by night.[3] The Scottish Council thus did its part by providing two stages — Edinburgh to Cockburnspath, and Cockburnspath to Berwick; and it would fall to the English Council to arrange the Post

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. vi. p. 576.
[2] Ibid., p. 566.
[3] Ibid., p. 570.

on the other side of the Border. So the system was established which enabled James to declare in the English Parliament that he governed Scotland with his pen: "I write and it is done." It was not a political system that could last for all time, and the Scottish Rebellion of 1638, followed by the Revolution of 1688, were the natural outcome of the form of Government which James had established during his time at Holyrood, and which he imported into England, where it was improved on by his son and grandsons.

CHAPTER IX.

THE VISITS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. TO HOLYROOD.

THE tenth and eleventh printed volumes of the Minutes of the Scottish Privy Council contain within their unwieldy bulk a very complete and curious picture of Scotland in the beginning of the seventeenth century; the adventurous inquirer who explores their recesses will be guided in his quest by one of the kindliest of Scots, Professor David Masson, whose memory is green in the hearts of the men who knew him; he has written the Prefaces to these volumes. Like the historical books of the Old Testament, they give quaint information regarding the real events of long ago.

King James settled down comfortably in London, and as the years went past became more and more convinced of his own infallible wisdom, and better and better pleased with himself as a sovereign. With all his shrewdness, he never acquired either knowledge or appreciation of his new subjects. At last, after much thought, he made up his mind that he must visit "our most ancient Kingdom," and from Newmarket on the 15th February 1616 he wrote to the Scottish Privy Council announcing a visit in the spring of 1617.[1] James gave his reasons in a subsequent proclamation; it required a lengthy document to

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. x. p. cx (Preface).

unveil the royal mind, but the following is the gem of this curious production.[1] "This Salmonlike instinct of our mind restlessly, both when we were awake and many times in our sleep, so stirred up our thoughts and banded our desires to make a journey thither that we can never rest satisfied till it shall please God we can accomplish it. And this we do upon our honour say to be the main and principle motive of our intended journey." From the day the Privy Council received the King's letter until the day James re-crossed the Border eighteen months after, the Scottish Privy Council was kept busy making the arrangements for the King's journey. It must be remembered that, in Scotland, power was at this time entirely centred in the hands of the Privy Council, and that this body had to deal with the most fussy of men. James poured out instructions on the unfortunate Council. His first orders were to make Proclamation at the Crosses of the "head burroughis" that the Acts of Parliament were to be rigorously enforced "which forbad the killing of deer, roes, hares, and wildfowl," "especially within eight miles of any Royal Palace," Holyrood included; because he expected that "great numbers of nobility and gentlemen as well of England as strangers" would accompany him, and they must get abundance of sport.[2] Then followed orders to have all the roads over which the King was to travel during an extended tour through Scotland put in order.[3] The Privy Council laboured at this particular task for months, as every section of road had to be treated separately. This is the proclamation regarding a well-known part of the London Road: "That this part of the way from Douglas burn to Hedderwick

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. x. p. 685. [2] Ibid., p. 459.
[3] Ibid., pp. 529, 530.

burn shall be mended by the parishioners of Auldamstock, Dunbar, Innerwick, Spotland, Stenton ; and that the Earl of Home, the Laird of Innerwick, and Provost of Dunbar, have the charge and oversight of the work."[1] Bit by bit the roads of southern Scotland were attended to. Next, the King directed his attention to Edinburgh and Holyrood Palace. A peremptory letter came instructing the town and its adjacent "barnacle" burghs of Canongate and the two Ports-burghs, to be cleared of beggars, and a highly-coloured and most savoury picture is given of these excrescences on the society of the time.[2] Then the Royal Park of Holyrood is to be cleared of the cattle which usually pastured on it, so that it may be stocked with choice wedders to fatten for the Royal Table. Further, the Provost and Bailies are ordained "to make a perfect and clean roll of the haill ludgins and stables" in the City of Edinburgh and the Burgh of Canongate, so that the great train which is to accompany the King may find accommodation for themselves and their horses. It was calculated that the King would be accompanied by about 5000 persons, and of course the Royal Palace and its stables could not contain such a crowd of men and horses.[3]

Holyrood House received early and particular attention. On the 22nd May 1616, the Privy Council went into the matter. "Forsamickle as the Kingis Majestie having resolvit to honour this ancient Kingdom with his royal presence, it is verie necessar and expedient for his Majesties contented reception that his Majesties palaceis of Halirudhous and Falkland and the Castil of Stirling be repairit and all defects thairin mendit, therefor the Lordis of Secret

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. x. p. 549. [2] Ibid., p. 470.
[3] Ibid., p. 684.

Counnsall gevis commissioner and warrand by thir presents to James Murray, Maister of his Majesties Workis to tak down the haill roof and thaske of the ludgeing above the ulter yett callet the Chancellaries Ludging with sa meikle of the stain worke as is requisite and to caus the same to be buildit up ane perfyte of new; and to tak down to the ground the chalmer within the Pallace of Halerudhous callit the Maister Stewartis Chalmer and on no wayes to build up the same agane, in respect of the deformitie and disproportioun that it hes with the rest of the building thair; and to tak down the chalmer and garlie (gallery) in Halirudhous callit Sir Roger Ashtonis Chalmer and to build up the same of new in a convenient forme; and to tak down the Kitcheing in Halirudhous, callit Chancellair Maitlandis Kitcheing, in the end of the transe callit the Duke's transe, both in the roof, jeistis and walls, so far as is necessar, and to build up the same of new, and to tak down the toofallis in the bakehous yairde of Halyrudhous, and the haill dykes of the bakehous yairde and not to big up the same again, sua that of the yairde ane perfyte cloise may be maid."[1] This work went on so slowly, that the Council issued mandates summoning individual craftsmen from all parts of Scotland to come and give assistance with the repairs on Holyrood House. But no joiner born in Scotland could be trusted to meddle with the Chapel in which James was to worship,—the very hammers they used would probably have introduced the infection of Scottish Presbyterianism. So the Privy Council was instructed to employ "Nicolas Stone, carvair, citienair of Lundone," and to pay him £450 sterling, lawful money of England."[2] The Chapel to be fitted up was

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. x. p. 517.

[2] Ibid., p. 593.

"his majesties Chappell, within the Palece of Halirudhous," —that is to say, the Chapel Royal which James V. built, and in which Mary had worshipped. As time went on, it leaked out that the fittings which Nicolas Stone was preparing in London, included figures in wood of the twelve Apostles and four Evangelists. To make matters worse, the Privy Council were instructed by the King to pay "Mathew Guidrick, citionair and paynter in Lundone," £200 (English) for gilding these statues;[1] and a further cause of offence was added when a pair of organs arrived which cost £400. The anger of the Edinburgh citizens became so serious that the King's Scottish Bishops took fright. Bishop William Cowper, Dean of the Chapel Royal, drew up a letter which was signed among others by Archbishop Spottiswoode and the Bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin, asking James "to stay the affixing of these portraits." The King yielded, but he wrote his bishops a terrible letter, telling them "you can endure lyons, dragons and devills to be figured in your Churches, but will not allow the like place to the Patriarchs and Apostles."[2] James's unfortunate Scottish bishops always lived midway "between the devil and the deep sea,"— between the anger of their King and the wrath of the Scottish people.

Many of the other arrangements over which the Privy Council toiled for weary months give a curious view of the limitations of the time. For instance, eighteen merchants in Edinburgh and one at Burntisland undertook to supply "James Bowye, servand of his Majesteis wyne-sellair," with the wine required for Holyrood Palace; while the burghs of Scotland were called on to supply, each, a stated number

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. xi. p. 65.
[2] Spottiswoode's History, vol. iii. p. 239.

of fat cattle for the King's table. The Lord High Chancellor and other notables attended at the "Cunyie-house at Edinburgh," when Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, Deputy Treasurer, took over and weighed the royal silver plate which had come from London in H.M. ship *The Charles*. The plate weighed 35 stone 13 lb. 74 oz. "Scottish weight."[1] The hardest task of all which the Privy Council performed was the arrangements for the conveyance of the great quantity of baggage which the King and his great train brought; the minutes of Council calling on every parish and burgh and hamlet to supply its quota of carts and horses, and the rates paid for these, are very interesting.

These dry details of the life of Scotland three centuries ago are now much more attractive than the "high falutin" accounts which remain of James's visit; of the ovation he received; of the countless orations, and poems in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew which were recited before him; of the speeches he made in return, and of the elaborate jokes which he evolved; of the banquets he gave and received. "The wisest fool in Christendom" acted up to the part expected of him. He was careful to impress the English courtiers who accompanied him with the immense superiority of the Scottish over the English pronunciation of Latin; and he advised them earnestly to learn to speak Latin as it flowed from his own royal lips.

King James reached Holyrood on the 16th May 1617; he had spent the preceding night at Seton Castle, thence he passed to Leith, and so through the West Port into Edinburgh. He stopped at the High Kirk to hear Archbishop Spottiswoode preach; and when the gate into the inner court of Holyrood was reached he was presented

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. xi. p. 132.

with a volume containing fifty-five poems, to which the Professors of Edinburgh College had given birth,—fifty-two in Latin and three in Greek.[1] One other poem he received which may sometimes still be read—"Forth Feasting," by the popular poet of the time, William Drummond of Hawthornden. On the day after his arrival the King heard service according to the English form in the Chapel Royal, with "playing on organs"; and on the Sunday a meeting of the Scottish Privy Council was held to admit as a member the King's latest favourite, George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham. On the Monday following the royal party crossed the Forth and went on to Falkland, thence to Dundee, and on to Kinnaird House, the seat of Lord Carnegie; there was hunting and hawking on each day of the tour, and never-ending Latin poems recited to him; the Town Clerk of Dundee varied the performance by making a speech in English—why he chose to speak in English is not known.

James was back in Holyrood House by the 3rd June. The Privy Council had done its best to provide game "on the moors and other parts" near Edinburgh, by issuing proclamation at the Cross against the killing of game within ten miles of Holyrood; so it is to be hoped that the English visitors enjoyed good sport on the Pentlands and the hills nearer Edinburgh. The King was in a very contented frame of mind; he had left Queen Anna at Greenwich to amuse herself buying jewellery and borrowing money from George Heriot, and he was free to carry on the two sports he loved best—hawking, and suppressing the Presbyterian Church. He had with him several English nobles, such as the Herberts, whose name is associated with William Shakespeare; he had three High

[1] Nichol's Progresses of James I., vol. iii. p. 323.

Church Bishops, my Lords of Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln; Dr Laud, whose name is still remembered without any love in Scotland, was also in attendance. The Episcopal form of worship was enforced at Holyrood; the Privy Council was instructed to order the Scottish nobles to attend the Chapel Royal and take the communion kneeling;[1] and when one of the King's guard died he was buried in Holyrood kirkyard, Dr Laud reading the service in a surplice—such is the news the Chronicles of the time give. On the 10th June, James announced that he was to visit the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith House, and the Privy Council had a hard task to collect carts for the baggage; they did succeed, however, as 80 carts and 240 horses were present at the roll-call at 4 A.M. on the 11th,—the Musselburgh district producing 40 carts and 120 horses, and little Ravelston one cart and three horses. Dalkeith town rose to the occasion; it presented to the King eight pieces of Latin verse,—one in hexameters and seven in elegiacs. Which form would the modern town be likely to affect if called upon for Latin verse in the beginning of the twentieth century?

The two most solemn functions during the King's visit to Holyrood were the "Riding of Parliament" on the 17th June, and the celebration of the King's birthday on the 19th. Fifty-one years before, James had been born in a little room in Edinburgh Castle. The Parliament of 1617 was one of the best attended of Scottish Parliaments. There were 174 members present; 13 representing the clergy, archbishops, bishops, and abbots; 44 nobles; 8 officers of State; 46 lairds, representative of the counties; 63 commissioners from the burghs.[2] All attended in their proper

[1] Calderwood's History, vol. vii. p. 246.
[2] Thomson's Acts, vol. iv. p. 524.

costumes, and were arranged according to their rank. Every member was instructed to attend at Holyrood at 2 o'clock, on horseback and with a foot-mantel;[1] every part of Scotland was represented—from Tain in the far north to Wigtown in the south-west. The great forecourt of Holyrood must have been overflowing with men and horses when the King led the way to the Tolbooth, preceded by the Earl of Argyle carrying the crown; the Earl of Mar, the sceptre; the Earl of Rothes, the sword. Arrived at the Tolbooth, Archbishop Spottiswoode preached a sermon, and the King delivered a long speech.

The birthday feast on the 19th June was very properly held in the Castle as the King's birthplace; the King entertained the English and Scottish nobles in the great hall;[2] in the evening there were fireworks at Holyrood. By the 22nd money was getting scarce, the vote of £200,000 Scots given by the Scottish Parliament being all spent, so Sir Gideon Murray was instructed to look around; he arranged to borrow 100,000 merks,[3] most of which William Dick, the great Edinburgh merchant of the time, provided.

James's time at Holyrood was running out. On the 29th June (Sunday) a meeting of Privy Council was held at Holyrood[4] to admit several English nobles to the Scottish Council. Next morning the Council met again in the early morning, and then James and his great train bade farewell to Holyrood and set out for Stirling. Thence James passed to Perth, and through Fife to St Andrews, returning by the west border to Carlisle, and so through west England to London. At a meeting of

[1] Privy Council Reg., vol. xi. p. 151.
[2] Ibid., p. xxxi.
[3] Nichol's Progresses, vol. iii. p. 337.
[4] Privy Council Reg., vol. xi. p. 159.

Privy Council held at Glasgow on Sunday, 27th July, the King instructed the Privy Council, as so much money had been spent on Holyrood Palace and Chapel, that some "face of a Court" should be kept up;[1] that the Privy Council should henceforth hold its meetings in the Palace; that service should be held in the Chapel, at which the lords of Council should attend. The Privy Council Records contain two quaint postscripts to the glorious festivities. The first proclamation forbids any import of wine into Scotland for the rest of the year 1617. It would appear that the number of English visitors had not been nearly so great as was expected, and that the Edinburgh merchants were therefore left with big stocks of wines. To protect them, the Council forbad the importation from France of the wine of the coming vintage. The other proclamation is equally curious. A certain quantity of His Majesty's silver plate and household stuff were missing, and the Council intimated at the Cross that it must be delivered to the Deputy Treasurer within twenty-four hours. So finished this visit of King James to "our most ancient Kingdom."

King James's parting injunctions were attended to. For the rest of his reign the Privy Council met in the Palace regularly. The old struggle to induce Scotsmen to kneel in the Chapel Royal went on; the regular victims were the Privy Council, but in February 1619 the Council of the burgh received instructions to attend chapel in the Palace every Sunday.[2] It is not stated that the members obeyed. A certain portion of the plenishings provided for James's visit must have been left in the Palace, for when the Duke of Lennox took up residence in 1619,

[1] Privy Council Reg., vol. xi. p. 203.
[2] Ibid., pp. 408, 571.

as the King's Commissioner to Parliament, the deputy treasurer was instructed to deliver to him for his use silver plate and napery belonging to the King.[1] In 1625 James died in his sixtieth year, and Charles—the Prince born in the old Palace of Dunfermline—reigned in his stead.

There arose at once a demand on the part of the people of Scotland that the new King should come north and be crowned at Holyrood. In 1628 Charles intimated his willingness to visit Scotland,[2] but the Scottish Privy Council replied that the state of the exchequer would not allow the necessary expenditure.[3] There followed a discussion as to the Church to be used for the Coronation, the Privy Council recommending St Giles on account of the ruinous condition of the Abbey Church of Holyrood.[4] In the spring of 1629 the Kirk-session of the parish of the Canongate, which was in possession of the Abbey Church, petitioned the Privy Council to have the church put in order, and a resolution to carry the work out was passed, but not acted on.[5] The Council also agreed to have a peal of bells cast for the Abbey Church from some cannon which had been broken up.[6] At last, in January 1633, the King intimated that he intended to come north to be crowned in the June following; he settled the battle of the churches by choosing the Abbey Church of Holyrood for the Coronation, and he ordered the church to be renovated.[7] The royal mandate instructed James Murray and Anthony Alexander, the King's master masons, "to take down the East Gable within the great arch, where

[1] Privy Council Reg., vol. xii. p. 63.
[2] Ibid., 2nd Series, vol. ii. p. 383.
[3] Ibid., p. 385.
[4] Ibid., p. 392.
[5] Ibid., 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 101.
[6] Ibid., p. 493.
[7] Ibid., vol. v. p. 12.

the old window is and to erect and build up ane fair new window of good stone work; and also a window in the East end of the North aisle; and further, to build up the North West steeple with stone, timber and lead, and make it fit to receive a peal of bells; an also to help and repair the South West steeple as far as it must be in sight; and to repair the whole West gable with some lights to be struck out therein, with the two turnpikes to be partly taken down, and well repaired and thacked in good order. As also to remove the whole lofts and desks, and to repair the whole breaches and defects of all the pillars, and to help the plastering of the North aisle, and to sweeten and set it off in good sort conform to the South aisle." This very serious reconstruction of the old church was ordered on the 26th January, to be completed by June. The short time allowed for carrying out the work may be largely responsible for the inferior workmanship of the portions of the Abbey Church renewed at this time. The east gable, then erected, was blown down by the wind fully a century ago. The work done on the west front compares very unfavourably with the noble Norman doorway which it surmounts. The north aisle, which was ordered to be "sweetened and set off in good sort," is roofless, whereas the south aisle is the most perfect portion of the old Chapel. The church was, however, got ready in time; a large force of workmen was assembled, summonses being issued by the Privy Council calling on individual workmen to come from all parts of the country to take part in the building. Then that sad inscription, which still stands, was affixed on the west front—"Basilicam hanc semirutam, Carolus Rex Optimus instauravit anno Domi MDCXXXIII. He shall build ane house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of

his Kingdom for ever." The expenditure on Holyrood Chapel is carefully entered in one of the volumes of the Accounts of the Master Mason. In all, between the end of January, when the first week's wages were paid, and the middle of June, when the Chapel was ready for the Coronation, £17,000 (Scots) was spent. One piece of beautiful stone-work was also executed — the sun-dial, which still stands in the north garden of Holyrood. It is popularly known as "Queen Mary's sun-dial," but it was executed at this time, and was the work of one of the Mylnes, who were masons famous for several generations. The cost of the dial is entered in the Master Mason's Account. Having arranged for the reconstruction of the church in which the Coronation was to take place, the Privy Council proceeded to make the necessary preparations for the reception of the King, following very much the same lines as were adopted when King James visited his kingdom sixteen years before. Orders were issued for the repair of the roads; careful arrangements were made for a supply of carts and horses to convey the baggage of the King and his train, which was to number about five hundred; Edinburgh was cleared of beggars, and lists were compiled of lodgings for the strangers. Cattle were to be fattened for the royal table, and hay and straw collected; above all, game was to be strictly preserved.

The King with his train reached Edinburgh on the 15th June 1633;[1] he left it again for London on the 18th July. The events of the visit are all recorded at great length by more than one chronicler; the Lyon King at Arms of the time, Sir James Balfour, in especial relates most particularly all the gorgeous ceremonials of

[1] Spalding's Memorials, vol. i. p. 33.

the State entry into Edinburgh; of the Coronation; and of the opening of Parliament. The State entry of course followed on the old lines. Balfour writes, "For many ages this Kingdom had not seine a more glorious and Staitly entrey, the streets being all railed and sanded; the chieff places quher he passed wer sett outt with staitly triumphall arches, obeliskes, pictures, artificiall montains, adorned with choyse musicke, and diverse otheres costly shewis."[1] One can quite understand that the Stately King, whose face and bearing Van Dyck has made so well known through his glorious pictures, would look his best in functions such as these. Another writer—John Spalding—reports all the speeches delivered at each stopping-place in the King's passage through Edinburgh, and concludes, "And sevintlie (7thly), he had ane speiche at the Nether bow; which haill orationis his Majestie with gryt plesour and delyte, sitting on horsbak as his company did, hard plesandlie, syne rode down the Cannonget to his awin pallace of Holyrude hous; the provost with the rest returned home."[2]

Charles took up residence in Holyrood, having brought from England a fairly numerous household; he was accompanied by the gentlemen pensioners, commanded by the Earl of Suffolk, and the Yeomen of the Guard, with their captain, Lord Holland.[3] The costume of the yeomen must have excited attention, as it is fully described. After resting and attending service on Sunday, 16th June, in the chapel of the Palace, the King proceeded on the next evening to the Castle, where the captain, the old Earl of Mar, gave a banquet to the King and nobility.[4] Remain-

[1] Balfour's Annales, vol. ii. p. 196.
[2] Spalding's Memorials, vol. i. p. 35.
[3] Ibid., p. 35.
[4] Balfour, vol. iv. p. 385.

ing in the Castle for the night, the King proceeded on the Tuesday morning in great state down the line of the Royal Mile to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, for his coronation. The procession was the most gorgeous which Edinburgh perhaps ever saw. Preceded by trumpeters, and by the English and Scottish heralds, the nobility of Scotland, arranged according to their orders, rode in their robes, each having at his side on foot an esquire carrying his coronet and cape. Then followed the honours of Scotland—the spurs, the sword, the sceptre, and the crown, carried before the King, who rode in crimson velvet robes, embroidered with silver and pearls, his train carried by four lords. The procession was closed by the Yeomen of the Guard bearing their partisans. The whole company dismounted at the "Foreyett," and the King crossed the outer court under a crimson canopy, borne by the eldest sons of six peers, supported by six barons. At the west door of the old Abbey Church the King was received by the clergy who were to officiate—the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishops of Moray, Dunkeld, Ross, Dunblane, and Brechin. The coronation service was most elaborate; when finished, the King "with the crown on his head, in his robes, and sceptre in his hand, returned with his whole train in solemn manner to his Palace." The proceedings scandalised the Presbyterianism of Scotland. The place he had given the Bishops in the procession, as peers of the realm; the fact that they alone conducted the Coronation; the elaborate anointing; the altar which stood in the church; the episcopal robes which the Bishops wore; the crucifix which was "curiouslie wrocht" on the tapestry behind the altar, and before which the officiating clergy were seen "to bow thair knie and beck,"—all these things violated the prejudices of the

Scottish people, and "bred gryt feir of inbringing of poperie."[1]

King Charles had come to Scotland to carry through the ceremonial of his coronation, but he was also to open a Scottish Parliament. If he succeeded in offending all the prejudices of the Scots in his coronation, he certainly by his conduct towards Parliament ran counter to those principles of freedom which in Scotland were the children of the Reformation. Parliament was opened on Wednesday, 19th June, by the King, who rode from Holyrood to the "Heiche Tolbooth," preceded by the members of Parliament, the commissioners of burghs and of shires being there as well as the bishops and peers. Parliament being "fensit," proceeded to the election of "the lords of the articles," and this being accomplished, the procession returned to Holyrood. A Scottish Parliament, as remodelled by James VI., suited the purposes of his son, who was resolved to rule as an absolute monarch. The executive power was in the hands of the "Lords of the Articles," a committee of thirty-two which drafted all Acts, to be afterwards presented "en masse" to Parliament for its acceptance. The mode of election of this committee was most ingenious: the Scottish nobles met and selected eight churchmen, who then chose eight peers, and this united body co-opted eight representatives of the counties and and a like number from the burghs. Charles could not have invented a legislative body more to his taste.

Next morning the Lords of the Articles began work in the lower Tolbooth, the King riding from Holyrood in his coach and joining them. He showed his interest in their proceedings by attending on each forenoon that the committee met and by assisting in their deliberations.

[1] Spalding, vol. i. p. 36.

The Lords of the Articles completed their labours in eight days, and next day the King and all the members of Parliament rode from Holyrood to the Tolbooth, and the Statutes were voted on in slump and passed practically without discussion. The King gained three things on which he had set his mind: he received liberal subsidies; he obtained power himself to settle the apparel of Churchmen, a matter dear to his heart; and he carried an "Act of Revocation," by which all grants of Church lands since the Reformation in 1560 were revoked and the lands placed at the disposal of the Crown. Balfour, who although a Court official was a true Scotsman, tells that the King "noted up the names of such as voted against the 3 former Acts with his own hand, wherein he expressed now and then a great deal of spleen." He sums up the work of the Parliament of 1633 "to be short, of 31 acts and statutes concluded in this Parliament, not three of them but were hurtful to the liberty of the subject; and as it were as many partitions to separate the King from his people."[1] During the week in which Parliament was sitting the King also ran counter to the prejudices of the people in other ways. On Sunday he came by coach "to St Giles, and heard the Bishop of Moray preach 'in his rochet,' which was never seen in St Giles Church since the Reformation." After this service he attended a banquet given by the city of Edinburgh, and "the banqueting-house was so near to the Kirk, and so great noise in it of men, musical instruments, trumpets, playing, singing, also shooting of cannons, that no service was had in the afternoon, either in the greater or lesser Kirk of St Giles." The church was at this time divided up, and two congregations met

[1] Balfour's Annales, vol. ii. p. 200.

in it.[1] On St John the Baptist's Day the King proceeded in state to the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, and "touched about 100 persons that were troubled with the King's Evil, putting about every one of their necks a piece of gold (coined for the purpose) hung on a white silk ribbon."[2]

Among the Acts of the Parliament of June 1633 is one which enabled the King to carry out another of his pet schemes—the establishment of a bishopric in Edinburgh; the capital of a country not endowed with a bishop must have seemed a monstrosity to Charles I. The Act is entitled "Act of dissolutione of the Abbacies of Holyrudhous and New Abbey,"[3] and begins as follows: "Oure Soveraine Lord of certain knowledge and proper motive, and for some special causes and reassonnes moving his Majestie, it is with consent of the thrie estates and haill bodie of this present parliament, exceptit and reservit to his Sacred Majestie, the lands, kirks, teinds and uthers eftir specifit fra the act of annexatione maid at the present parliament and fra all uther former annexations maid be his Majestie's predecessors of happie memorie, and als fra all uther actes and statuits maid in this present parliament; To the effect his Majestie may dispone therefrom at his gratious pleasure; Viz: all and hail the hous, precinct and yairds of Holyrudhous with the houses, tenements and yairds lyand contigue thairto haldin of old of the said Abbacie." There follows a list of certain of the estates which had belonged before the Reformation to the Monasteries of Holyrood and New Abbey. Having obtained possession of this property, the King proceeded

[1] Spalding, vol. i. p. 41.
[2] Balfour, vol. ii. p. 201.
[3] Thomson's Acts, vol. v. p. 54.

by warrants under the Great Seal to institute a diocese of Edinburgh, and to appoint William Forbes as first Bishop,[1] endowing the new Bishopric with the Abbey lands of Holyrood and New Abbey. The possession of the houses, tenements, and "yairds lying contigue" to the Palace enabled the King to provide houses for the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh. There were within the precincts of the Palace two habitable houses which are mentioned in King James's letter of 1590 as "the bishop of Orkneyis house and the Lady Gowreis."[2] These, which were probably, in part at any rate, formed out of the old monastic buildings, would, under the Act of 1633, pass to the King, and seem to have been now handed over by Charles for the use of the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh. The position of the Bishop's Palace and Dean's house in relation to the Palace are shown in a curious plan of Holyrood printed in 'The King's Master Masons.'[3] It was a strange turn of events which gave back the lands of the Monastery of Holyrood to ecclesiastical purposes.

Parliament having risen on the 1st July, the King, after dining in Holyrood, proceeded "to sport and recreat himself"[4] at Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and Perth, returning across the Firth at Burntisland on the 10th. During the crossing "a sudden storm which did arise after a great rain," struck the vessels in which were the King and his train, and one of the boats sank. Several of the King's servants were drowned, and "his Majesty's silver plate and household stuff perished with

[1] Reg. Mag. Sig., vol. 1620-33, Art. 2225, and next vol. Art. 21.
[2] Marriage of James VI., p. 31.
[3] The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland, fig. 169.
[4] Spalding, vol. i. p. 49.

the rest." Such an accident of course raised the superstitious feelings of people, and was taken "to foretell great troubles to fall in between the King and his subjects, as efter do appear."[1] Charles remained at Holyrood for a few days after his return, and on the 18th July proceeded to Dalkeith, and then to Seton Castle, Innerwick, and Berwick, from which he rode post to Greenwich, where Queen Henrietta was residing. The King, while in Scotland, distributed titles lavishly: "he doubed 54 Knights, at several times, in divirse places"; and created 1 Marquis, 10 Earls, 2 Viscounts, and 8 Lords.[2] In many ways, this first visit of King Charles to the country of his birth did not tend to increase his popularity or to assure the lasting peace of Scotland.

Charles returned to Holyrood a few years after, but he then came as a defeated and discredited King. The work of the Parliament of 1633 left the King an absolute monarch as far as Scotland was concerned; the Act of Revocation put the estates of the nobles in his hands to a considerable extent; while the Acts regarding religion gave the King power to fashion the Scottish Church as he chose, without regard to the feelings or consciences of his people. The King's intentions were soon made evident. In May 1635, Charles issued a Royal Warrant authorising the introduction of a Book of Canons to take the place of the Presbyterian Book of Discipline; and two years later a Service Book, drawn up under the superintendence of Archbishop Laud, was introduced to supersede the Book of Common Order which had been used in Scotland since the time of Knox. The new Liturgy was used for the first time on the 23rd July 1637, in the Town Church of St Giles, which had been

[1] Spalding, vol. i. p. 41.

[2] Balfour, vol. ii. p. 202.

made a Cathedral for the newly-created Bishop of Edinburgh. The use of the hated service gave rise to a formidable riot, and it developed into a national rising against the King. Charles, by the policy he had pursued, united the Scottish people as it had not been since the time of the Reformation, and as a nation it prepared for war. Parliament met in 1638 and abolished the Episcopal Church which Charles and his father had laboured to establish; and an army was raised which proved itself too strong for the King, and powerful enough in the autumn of 1640 to cross the Border and take possession of Newcastle. Next year Charles resolved to visit his native country, and meet the Scottish Parliament face to face. On the 14th August 1641 the King reached Edinburgh and took up residence in Holyrood House.[1] He made no triumphal entry into the Capital, but passed quietly through the Water Gate at the foot of the Canongate, with a train not exceeding a hundred horse—the King riding in a coach.[2] "The Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, in their long robis saluted his Highness; a speech was made; the keys of the Town rendered; but the King gave little ear to their speech. The Nobility and barons kissed his hand in the long gallery" of Holyroodhouse. Next day, being Sunday, "his majesty heard sermon in the Abbey Church, where Mr Alexander Henderson preached to him before noon."[2] It was a strange experience for Charles, who certainly believed that Presbyterianism was not a religion for a gentleman, to have to listen to Henderson the apostle of the Covenant. Naturally, "in the afternoon the King went not to sermon, but being weary, reposed himself in private."

[1] Balfour's Annales, vol. iii. p. 39. [2] Ibid.

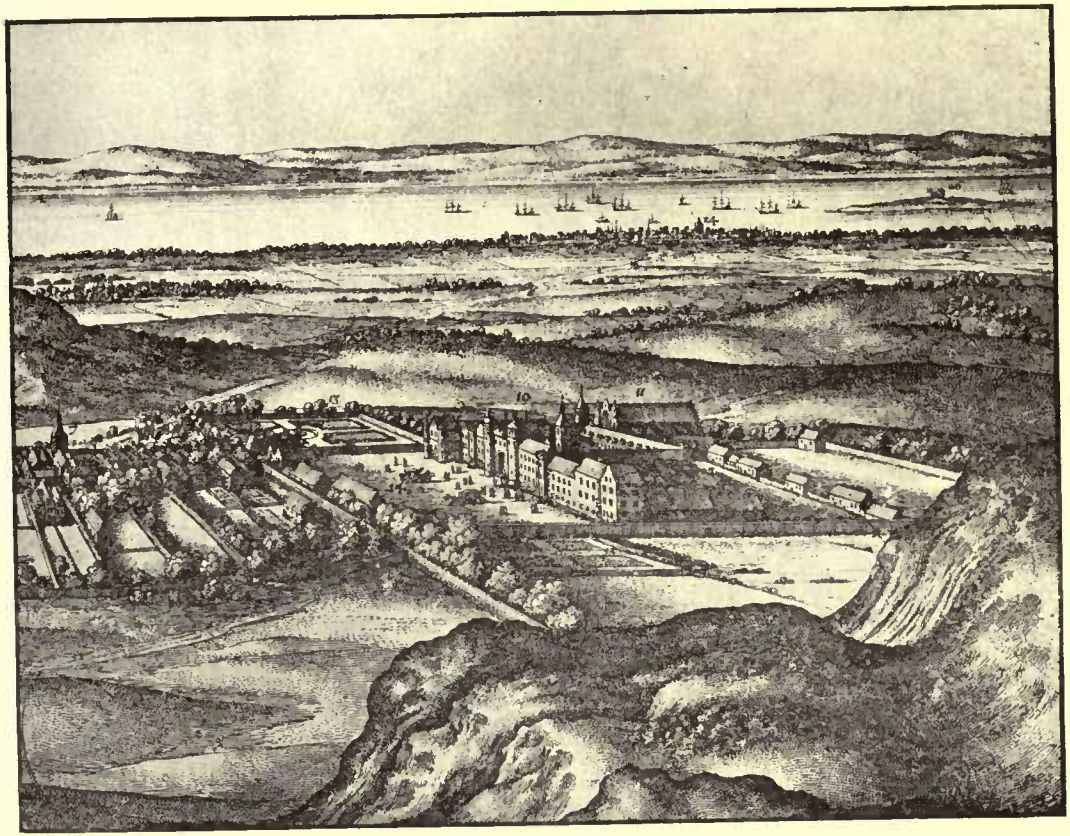
Charles remained at Holyrood from the 14th August to the 18th November. These three months must have been one of the most unhappy periods of Charles's unhappy life. He had left England very much disturbed, and fast drifting toward the great Civil War which broke out next year. He had come North to try to find among the parties in Scotland some section which would side with him against the English Puritans. He, the haughty man born to command, humiliated himself before the Scottish Covenanters; and he did it to no purpose. The story of Charles's life at Holyrood is told day by day in Sir James Balfour's 'Annales of Scotland.' Each day the King attended Parliament and took part in its discussions, Parliament being in session when Charles reached Holyrood. He gave his assent to those Acts which abolished Episcopacy in Scotland; he signed the Treaty by which the Covenanters united with the English Parliament for the purpose of defying his authority;[1] and he made old David Leslie, who had commanded the Scots in their campaigns against himself, Earl of Leven. Charles's sole relaxation seems to have been to listen to two Presbyterian sermons each Sunday, these being usually delivered in the Abbey Church. His political sins must have been great to deserve these three months in Purgatory. At the end of his stay at Holyrood the great Irish Rebellion broke out, and the King had to hasten South without accomplishing anything that he had come to do. On the 17th November, "the Parliament rode this day solemnly from his Majesty's Palace of Holyrudhousse to the great Hall of the Parliament in Edinburgh"—the new hall which had just been built.[2] The meeting was a long one, and in the course of the proceedings the King "out of

[1] Balfour, vol. iii. p. 52.

[2] Ibid., p. 160.

his own royal hand" delivered to Argyle, the leader of the Covenanting party, the patent creating him a Marquis; Alexander Henderson preached a sermon; and the Chancellor delivered a speech to the King and Estates.[1] "It was half-past eight at night before the house broke up," so the procession back to Holyrood was dispensed with; but at night the King feasted his whole nobility in the great hall at Holyrood, "and after supper solemnly took his leave of them." Next morning, at 8 o'clock, he bade farewell to Holyrood, never to return. This visit of 1641 must have been deeply humiliating to the proud self-contained King,—he was reaping the harvest which his father and he had been sowing for half a century.

[1] Balfour, vol. iii. p. 160.



HOLYROOD PALACE, FROM HOLLAR'S VIEW OF EDINBURGH, 1670.
From copy in Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

It seems to show the front erected in 1659 by Cromwell's Council, and pulled down in 1670.

CHAPTER X.

THE REBUILDING OF THE PALACE BY CHARLES II.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Palace of Holyrood-house, as it now stands, should have been so largely the work of Charles II., the only King of the Royal House of Stewart who never lived at Holyrood. Holyrood, first as Monastery and afterwards as Palace, had been one of the homes of the family during the centuries in which they held the throne, but it was Charles II., whose connection with Holyrood was of the slenderest, to whom we owe the Palace as we now know it. Charles probably saw the old house during the short visit he paid Edinburgh in 1650, but he cannot have ever slept within its walls.

When Charles I. took his departure from Holyrood in 1641, he went south to face the celebrated Long Parliament, which shortly after made war against his authority. Scotland, the King left divided into irreconcilable factions, which flew at each other's throats, and fought with great bitterness until each and all of them were overwhelmed by Oliver Cromwell after the victory he won at Dunbar in September 1650. To these years belongs an act of Charles I. which greatly affected Holyrood for nearly two centuries and a half. On the 10th August 1646 Charles appointed the Duke of Hamilton

Hereditary Keeper of the Palace.[1] This grant was confirmed by Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1669, in favour of Anna, Duchess of Hamilton. The Act specifies that the office of Hereditary Keeper embraced the care of the Palace "with all yeards, orchyeards, bowling-greens, parks and others whatsoever pertaining thereto, and with all privileges, dignities, immunities, fies, proffeits, deuties, and casualties belonging to the same, with the powers of making underkeepers, depute gairdeners, and other officers."[2]

The execution of Charles I. at Whitehall, in January 1649, altered the course of events even more in Scotland than in England; for the Scottish Estates opened up communication with his son, and offered the allegiance of Scotland, on condition that Charles signed the Covenant. Long negotiation followed, which resulted in what is termed the Treaty of Breda. Charles swallowed the Covenant, and landed at Garmouth at the mouth of the Spey on the 23rd June 1650, hoping by the aid of the Scots to regain the English throne. From the Spey Charles proceeded south, and, after spending some days in Fife, took up his quarters at Stirling; for before he reached the Forth, Cromwell with an English army had crossed the Border to make war against the Scottish Estates, and was approaching Edinburgh. On the 29th July, as the old Chronicler relates, "It pleasit the Kingis Majestie to come doun from Stirling to the Linx of Leith."[3] Arrived at Leith, he took up his residence in Lord Balmerino's house there. Charles found the situation a very strange one. Leslie, who commanded the

[1] Reg. Mag. Sig., vol. 1634-51, No. 1710.
[2] Thomson's Acts, vol. vii. p. 578.
[3] Nicoll's Diary, p. 20.

Scottish forces against Cromwell, held Edinburgh and Leith, which he had joined by a line of defensive works through Restalrig. Cromwell moved along this front trying in vain to find a weak spot in the defences through which he might break. On the day the young King arrived at Leith the English had been repulsed at the Quarry Holes. Charles had a good reception from the Scottish army, and became quite popular. On the 2nd August the King came to Edinburgh, "ryding with his nobles and life-guard, up through the Canongate to the Castle of Edinburgh."[1] This was probably the only opportunity which Charles had of seeing his Palace of Holyroodhouse. On the following day Charles was asked to leave Edinburgh, as the Presbyterian leaders were jealous of his popularity with the army.

In a month followed the battle of Dunbar, and Scotland was gradually subdued by Cromwell and his generals. It was rough ignoble work, and the country suffered heavily by fire and sword; among other houses which were injured was Holyrood. Some of the English foot-soldiers were quartered in the Palace, and on the 13th November 1650 fire broke out in it. What was the extent of the damage done to the house it is not possible to discover. Nicoll, in his Diary, says that the whole of the "Royal part" was burned to the ground, but he afterwards added, "except a little."[2] Whitelock states "that part of the King's house was burned."[3] There is a blank in the Scottish Records from 1651 to 1660, so the history of these years is difficult to follow. Holyrood probably remained as the fire of 1650 had made it until 1658, but a portion of the buildings must have

[1] Nicoll's Diary, p. 21. [2] Nicoll, p. 35.
[3] Whitelock's Mem. (1732 ed.), p. 483.

been habitable, as the Council which Cromwell had instituted for Scottish affairs seems to have met in the Palace. On the 4th May 1658, this Council adopted a Minute, "and in regard of the want of repairs of the Tower, and other buildings about the late King's House at Edinburgh, called Hallrude House, ordered that it be offered to His Highness (the Protector) as the advice of his Counsell that His Highness will be pleased to authorise the Counsell in Scotland to give order for such further repair of the said house and tower as shall be necessary, and that the charges thereof be allowed out of the publique revenues thereof."[1] A week later, the Council at Whitehall gave its sanction, and the work was begun, for John Nicoll, in the last paragraph of his Diary for the year 1658, records that great provision for the work had been made.[2] Next year the matter was again before the English Council, which inquired as to the cost of completing the building and the usefulness to the State of the Palace; on receiving a satisfactory reply, £1000 sterling was voted.[3] In an entry for September 1659, Nicoll states that "the hole foir wark of the Abay of Halrudhous was compleitlie biggit up and repaired in the timber and stone wark thairof."[4] The phrase "foir wark" seems here to mean the west front of the Palace, and not the Gate House, to which it is usually applied.

The following year, 1660, brought the Restoration. The Palace as rebuilt by Cromwell was ready for the Scottish Privy Council when it was reconstituted by the King, Charles II., in 1661; and began anew its work of trying to guide Scotland along a path which

[1] Thomson's Acts, vol. vi. part ii. p. 766.
[2] Nicoll's Diary, p. 224.
[3] State Papers, Domestic, vol. 1658-59, pp. 369, 588.
[4] Nicoll's Diary, p. 249.

it did not desire to follow. A Minute of November of this year suggests that the Council did not find its Chamber quite water-tight, and a grant of £100 sterling was made for immediate repairs.[1]

As a consequence of The Restoration, Holyrood House once more became the centre of Scottish affairs, for it was the regular meeting-place of the Scottish Privy Council, and through this body the King ruled Scotland. It is not necessary here to describe the manner in which Charles II. treated his Scottish subjects, further than to say that when he found himself through the Restoration in possession of practically absolute power, he made the Earl of Lauderdale —created a Duke in 1672—Secretary of State for Scotland, and that Lauderdale's power increased as time went on, until for some years he was all-powerful. Lauderdale's political creed is summed up in one of his letters to the King: "As I have often said, the whole course of my life shall be to obey you in your own way."[2] His idea of a fitting government for an unruly country like Scotland may be given in his own words: "a return to the good old form of government by his Majesty's Privy Council."[3] Lauderdale's brutality, his blotched face, and tongue too big for his mouth, have been well sketched by Sir Walter Scott in 'Old Mortality.' He had two touches of humanity about him, however: he loved books, and he had considerable taste in architecture. About the year 1670 Lauderdale set about gratifying this latter taste by remodelling Lethington, the old home of his family—the Maitlands—by building a new castle, fit for one who was in the near future to be a Duke, at Thirlestane on the Leader; he was

[1] Privy Council Register, 3rd Series, vol. i. pp. 101-2.
[2] Lauderdale Papers (Camden Society), vol. iii. p. 3.
[3] Ibid., vol. i. p. 172.

also extending his house at Brunstane, a few miles from Edinburgh. Lauderdale was, as he expressed it, "knocle-deep in mortar; I fear I shall be up to the elbows before I have done with it."[1] Men who are themselves deep in the "mortar-tub" are apt to try to lure their friends to the same fate; so Lauderdale induced the King, Charles II., to rebuild Holyrood, and kindly lent his experience in building and his taste in architecture. Most people will agree that Lauderdale was using his very considerable ability to better purpose when he assisted in the rebuilding of Holyrood House, than when in the "Laigh Parliament Hall" he was superintending the torture of the Covenanters by boot and thumb-screw, following this up by sending them to "glorify God in the Grassmarket,"—to quote his own exceedingly neatly-turned phrase for condemning them to be hanged.

It would appear from a curious plan published in Mylne's 'Master Masons,' that Charles I., when he renovated the Abbey Chapel in 1633, had sketch-plans prepared for remodelling the Palace also.[2] His determination, however, to force the Scots to become Episcopalians left him no chance of building palaces. Charles II. was therefore acting like a dutiful son when he took up the work which his father had failed to carry through. Besides, it is evident that Cromwell's restoration in 1658-59 had not extended to the whole Palace. The Minute of Privy Council of 26th November 1661 speaks of "the defective parts of the Palace of Holyrude-house *so much thereof as is presently habitable and under roof.*"[3] While Mylne gives a sketch-plan of date about 1670 of "that part of His Majestie's Palace of Holyroodhouse now

[1] Mylne's Master Masons, p. 168. [2] Pp. 148, 149.
[3] Privy Council Register, 3rd Series, vol. i. p. 101.

in repair," showing only King James V.'s Tower, the Hall for the Privy Council, which adjoined the Tower, and the length of the West front. This seems all that Cromwell's Council had attempted to restore. Possibly the rest of the Palace was roofless, and Lauderdale, when he resided at Holyrood as the King's Commissioner between 1661 and 1670, had to be content with accommodation much too narrow for his exalted opinion of his own importance. Lauderdale chose an architect for the King, Sir William Bruce of Kinross, who was then building Thirlestane Castle for himself. On the 3rd January 1671, Bruce writes to Lauderdale regarding the work being done at Thirlestane, and the plans which he was preparing for a new Holyrood House.[1] These plans must have been forwarded to the King shortly thereafter, for on the 3rd June 1671 Charles returns the plans as revised, with a Royal Warrant signed by Lauderdale as Secretary, instructing the Privy Council and the "Lords Commissioners of our Treasury in Scotland" to carry out the work.[2] The King's criticism of Bruce's plans is very sensible. He thinks it unnecessary to have a chapel in the new Palace, and suggests "that a way may be made into the Church" —the old Church of the Monastery, then used by the Canongate Parish. He curtails the number of royal apartments; and although he thinks the Quadrangle "very noble," asks that it be reduced in cost. Along with his memorandum criticising the plans, he sends instructions for the purchase of property to the east of the Palace, so that there may be direct access from the new garden which he proposes to form under the east windows of the Palace,

[1] Mylne, p. 164.

[2] The letter, which is in the Register House in Edinburgh, is printed in Mylne, p. 169.

into the "great Park." The property to be purchased included the houses and gardens "given and mortified to the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh in due form of law" by Charles I. in 1633. Along with the corrected plans, the King sent a warrant appointing "Sir William Bruce of Balcasky, Knight Baronet," "Surveyor, Contriver and Overseer of all works at our said Palace of Holyroodhouse, with a salary of £300 per annum."[1] Next month, on the 20th July, the Lord Treasurer instructs Bruce to proceed by "taking down all the iron grates of the windows of James V.'s Tower." That the work on the Palace was taken in hand at once is shown by the inscription in the quadrangle of the present house: "FUN. BE. RO. MYLNE. MM. IUL. 1671"—Founded by Robert Mylne, Master Mason, July 1671. Although the work was begun at this time, the contract for the building was not signed until the 11th and 12th March 1672. It bears to be between Sir William Bruce and Sir William Sharpe, "His Majestie's Cashkeeper," on the one part, and Robert Mylne, His Majestie's Master Mason, on the other.[2] The building to be carried out is clearly specified, and most of it can be traced in the Palace of to-day. James V.'s Tower was to be remodelled according to plan; the windows and doors to be enlarged; a new stair to be put in; and the "Cape" on the roof to be rebuilt. A South Tower was to be built against the Lord Chancellor's House to correspond with James V.'s Tower on the north. Then the buildings of the old Palace formed round two quadrangles were to be taken down and one new quadrangle formed, ninety-one feet six inches square, on the ground so cleared. Further, the new East Garden was to be enclosed with walls, and walls with handsome gateways built along the north and south sides

[1] State Papers, Domestic, 1671, p. 295.

[2] Mylne, pp. 176-181.

of the great Fore-Court to the west of the Palace. The item in the contract which is now difficult to trace is a Kitchen Court to the south of the new Private Garden. The whole operations were to be completed by 15th November 1673. Of course this date was exceeded, although a portion of the Palace was ready for Lauderdale when he came north as Commissioner in that year.

By the spring of 1675 the building operations begun in 1671 must have been approaching completion, for on March 7th the King issued a Warrant to the Duke of Hamilton as Keeper to apportion rooms on the north side, "in all the stories recently built," to the Deputy Treasurer, Charles Maitland, now created Lord Halton;[1] and another Warrant followed granting rooms in the east side of the quadrangle to the Earl of Atholl, as Lord Privy Seal.[2] A new departure was now resolved on. The Palace, approaching completion, consisted of the new house built by Sir William Bruce, forming three sides of a quadrangle in contact with the west front, as rebuilt by Cromwell's Council. This must have struck Lauderdale as incongruous. So a report was called for,[3] and the matter brought before the King by a Minute of the Lords of the Scottish Treasury of the 15th February 1676, which embodied an estimate of cost for a new west side.[4] Charles at once responded, and on the 21st February 1676 issued his Warrant "approving of the sum mentioned in letter of 15th, being £4374, 3s. 4d. Sterling for finishing the works at Holyrood, levelling the Gardens, gravel and grass works, and bringing in water to the house. We order you to cause the part thereof built by the usurpers to be taken

[1] State Papers, Domestic, vol. 1675-76, p. 16.
[2] MS. Treasury Register, vol. ii., 6th October 1675.
[3] MS. Entry in Treasury-Sederunt MS., 23rd July 1675.
[4] Treasury Register, vol. ii.

down to the end that the inside of that quarter may be finished in pillar work, agreeable with the three other quarters."[1] The work on the Palace in all probability now proceeded to a finish, for on the 14th September 1677 the Privy Council resumed its meetings in the Palace after an absence of three years and a half.[2]

There is in the Register House in Edinburgh much confused material out of which to compute the cost of Holyrood House; it is contained in the Register and the Sederunt Books of the Lords of the Treasury; the 30th volume of the Master of Works' Accounts; and many loose papers. The money paid out for the building executed between 1671 and 1675 is stated in a Treasury Balance-Sheet, described as the "Account of the whole fyve months supplie due and payable from 1st February to 1st November 1671, by the 3rd Act of his Majestie's Second Parliament of this Kingdome, begune at Edinburgh in July 1670, raised and received by Sir William Sharp, Receiver thereof." The total amount of the vote passed by Parliament was 360,667 pounds Scots, about £30,000 sterling. The account is passed as correct, on 21st December 1675, and is signed by Lord Rothes, Lord Dundonald, and Chas. Maitland, Deputy Treasurer. This balance-sheet contains a number of curious entries regarding the building of Holyrood House. The first is the quaintest of all, as it is the "arles" which the Master Mason received when he was "hired for the job," the guinea in gold being a very special feature. "Paid by Sir William Sharp to Robert Miln, his Majestie's Master Mason, the sum of Twenty Pounds Sterling and ane guiny of gold, being in value £1, 1s. 6d. Sterling, as earnest of the bargain made with him for

[1] State Papers, Domestic, vol. 1675-76, p. 569.
[2] Privy Council R., 3rd Series., vol. v.

the mason work at his Majestie's palace at Holyrood-house, dated 29th July 1671;" extended in Scotch money £252, 18s.

There follow several other entries[1] for money for the Palace:—

"Paid to Robert Miln as above, the sum of Fifty Seven Thousand Pounds Scots in full satisfaction and payment of the money due and payable to him, conform to ane contract made with him for the mason work of his Majestie's Palace of Holyrood-house	£57,000 0 0
"Paid to James Baine, Master Wright, for part payment, conform to contract made with him	£12,000 0 0
"Paid to Andrew Cassie, Master Sklaiter, for Sklait work at Holyrood . . .	£4,640 0 0
"Paid to ane English plaisterer .	£249 12 0
"Paid to Sir William Bruce, Surveyor, for providing for his Majestie's Palace and Castles .	£130,724 0 0"

Out of the above grant to Sir William Bruce the 'Master of Works' Accounts' show that £74,295 : 0 : 6 was expended on Holyrood, the balance of grant going for "his Majestie's Castles," including the castle on the Bass which was being built at this time. These seem to be the total sums paid out of the Treasury by Sir James Sharpe for Holyrood House up to the end of

[1] All in pounds Scots.

1675, and amounts to 148,436 pounds Scots. In the 'Master of Works' Account'[1] will be found the sums drawn by Sir William Bruce during the years 1676 to 1679 for the completion of the Palace; these amount to 102,786 : 6 : 9 pounds Scots. Should these sums be correctly stated, this new house cost in all about £21,000 sterling—a large sum in the seventeenth century.

A point may here be noted: that the Master Mason's position was now different from that of his predecessors who carried out the sixteenth-century works on Holyrood. The latter were architects and surveyors for the kings, as well as Master Builders; but now Sir William Bruce is Architect and Surveyor, and Miln works as a contractor under him, and for mason work only, there being separate contractors for the other branches.

There comes as a curious comment on the Treasury payments for Holyrood House a series of entries in the Minutes of the Scottish Parliament. The matter comes up for the first time in July 1695—nearly twenty years after the Palace was completed—on a petition of James Bain, Master Wright, whose name appears as a contractor in the Treasury Balance-Sheet. It states that at the time of building the Palace, Bain possessed "an opulent fortune of about fifty thousand pounds Scots worth of timber"; that he used this stock in connection with his contract, and that he has not been paid for it. Parliament considered proof, and resolved that Bain should be recompensed.[2] Bain's case was again before Parliament next year, 1696, and again was favourably received. Money must have been very scarce, for in 1704 Bain is again a suppliant asking for a yet larger sum, as interest had been added to principal. Parliament acknowledged the debt

[1] Vol. 30.

[2] Thomson's Acts, vol. ix. p. 469.

and ordered payment to be made, but "until money can be found" a vote in favour of Bain is made of an annuity of 1200 pounds Scots per annum, to be paid in quarterly sums.[1] All through these centuries "the o'ercome o' the sang" is ever the same—the poverty of the Scottish Treasury.

The building of the Palace being completed, the King allocated the portion of the house not gifted by the warrants of 1676. Lord Lauderdale received "lodgings on the South side," and rooms were found also for the Earl of Argyle, "our great Master of Household."[2]

It may be noted that the beautiful plaster ceilings of the State Rooms seem to have been executed by two Englishmen, John Halbert and his partner George Dunserfield; that "Mr de Wet, paynter," was employed to decorate the roof of the King's bedroom with "ane piece of historie"; and that marble mantelpieces were purchased, probably from the same "Italian merchand" whom Lord Lauderdale had discovered in London when he was adorning Thirlestane Castle.[3] It would be very improper to record the building of the new Palace without referring to that wonderful gallery of portraiture which adorns the great Hall. It is described by one of the Scottish Judges of the time. "In our gallery of the Abbey there is set up the pictures of our one hundred and eleven Kings since Fergus I., 350 years before Christ. They have guessed at the figure of their faces before James I."[4]

In connection with the new Palace, there is an entry in the Privy Council Records of date 13th September

[1] Thomson's Acts, vol. xi. p. 181.
[2] Treasury Register, vol. ii. pp. 250, 252, 253.
[3] Mylne, p. 167.
[4] Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 156.

1672,[1] which draws attention to a side of Charles II.'s character which has been passed over by historians—"His Majestie's pious and religious disposition." The King had given instructions that it was not necessary to design any portion of the new Palace for a private Chapel, and on this date the Privy Council resolves that it is "suteing to His Majestie's pious and religious disposition" to use the old Church of the Monastery as the Chapel of the Palace. It therefore declares the Abbey Church to be "His Majestie's Chappell Royal in all tyme coming." It may be convenient at this point to bring together what is known regarding the history of the Abbey Church from the time of the suppression of the Monastery in 1544 until 1672; and also to refer to the "Chapel within the Palace of Holyroodhouse," which passed out of existence along with the rest of the Palace buildings pulled down in 1671.

Taking the latter first, it may be repeated that when James IV. built the first Palace, he made a Chapel in the north part of the west front; this seems to have been turned by James V. into the Hall for the Privy Council, and a new Royal Chapel built farther south on the same front. It was in this Chapel, built by her father, that Queen Mary worshipped, and in it she was married to Darnley. After the Queen's abdication and her son's coronation, John Duncanson was appointed Minister of the "Kingis Majestie's Household," with a stipend of £200 Scots, in 1567.[2] As the infant King was then living in Stirling Castle, Duncanson probably ministered to the household there, but when the King made his home at Holyrood in 1579, the King's Minister would

[1] Privy Council Register, 3rd Series, vol. iii. p. 593.

[2] Register of Ministers (Maitland Club), p. 1.

THE CHAPEL OF HOLYROOD ABBEY, FROM THE EAST.

accompany the Court and officiate in the "Chapel within Holyrood House"—the Chapel of the Monastery being then occupied as the Parish Church of the Canongate. At any rate, it is certain that from 1567 until James VI. went to Whitehall in 1603, there were two separate lines of clergymen for the two Chapels at Holyrood—the King's Minister within the Palace, and the Minister of the Canongate in the Abbey Church.[1] A few years after James had left Scotland, and was now a declared Episcopalian, he, in 1606, turned his attention to the spiritual needs of his Scottish palaces, and revived the establishment of the Chapel Royal, appointing the Bishop of Galloway its Dean, with the right to a residence in Holyrood.[2] It may be explained that in 1501 James IV. had established a Chapel Royal of Scotland in Stirling Castle under a rescript granted by the Pope Alexander VI.; the Chapel was created a Collegiate Church, was well endowed, and had attached to it a dean, sub-dean, a body of canons, and a choir.[3] In reviving the Chapel Royal in 1606, James VI. seems to have intended that the clergy should officiate either in the Chapel in Stirling Castle or in Holyroodhouse. In 1612, however, the King made up his mind definitely on the matter, and in a long instrument instructs "that it is expedient the said Chappell be erectit in the maist conspicuous place and quhair maist resort is of court and counsall, his Majestie thairfor ordanit the place of speciall residence thairof to be at Halyrudhous, in palace of the sayme . . . and willis the said Chappell to be hereafter callet his Majestie's Chappell Royal of Scot-

[1] Scott's Fasti (1866), vol. i. pp. 82, 150.
[2] Privy Council Register, vol. xii. p. lxxii.
[3] History of Chapel Royal of Scotland (Rogers), p. xxxv.

land."[1] One of the King's many injunctions to the Privy Council when he was preparing for his memorable visit to Scotland in 1617 was that the Council was to see to it that the members of the Chapel Royal were ready for service "in music and all other things, whether in oure Chappell Royal of Stirling or Halyrudhous."[2] In 1624 the establishment of the Chapel is arranged as 16 "Prebendaries," with 6 boys as Choristers, and their stipends are fixed.[3] Now in 1672, the Chapel Royal being in process of being demolished as part of Holyrood House, "The Lord Commissioner, his Grace and Lords of His Majestie's Privy Council doe design, sett apart and appropriate the said Church"—the Abbey Church—"for the ends and uses afforsaidis, and doe declare the same to be his Majestie's Chappell Royall in all time coming, discharging hereby the Magistrates of Edinburgh or Canongate to use the same hereafter as ane Parish Church."[4] Roofless though the old Abbey Church now is, it still remains, as named by the Privy Council in 1672, the Chapel Royal of Scotland. So it has come about that when the King comes to his Palace of Holyroodhouse, there is no Chapel Royal in which he can worship, and he attends the "Great Kirk of St Geill"—the old Town Church of Edinburgh.

To turn now to the Abbey Church—the Chapel of the Monastery. It was burned by the English in 1544, along with Monastery and Palace; and in 1547 it was again damaged by having the lead stripped off its roof. The Church must have been repaired to some extent by Mary of Guise at the time when she restored the

[1] Register of Presentation of Benefices, vol. iv. p. 80. The instrument is printed in full in Rogers' History, p. cxiv.

[2] Privy Council Register, vol. x. p. 494.

[3] Ibid., vol. xiii. p. 469.

[4] Privy Council Register, 3rd Series, vol. iii. p. 593.

Palace, for it is stated that preaching was held in it when the Lords of the Congregation occupied Edinburgh in 1559. On their retiral, the Queen-Mother "caused Mass to be said in the Abbey, where the altars before were cast down."[1] In 1560 came the abolition of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, and under the new *régime* the remains of the Abbey Church were assigned to the Burgh of the Canongate as its Parish Church, and the ground to the north of the Church and east of the Palace Garden was made the Kirkyard of the Parish. To the cure of the souls of this parish John Craig was inducted in 1561—he was soon transferred to St Giles to be Knox's colleague. Craig was one of the group of very notable men who guided the infant Church of the Reformation in Scotland. John Brand succeeded Craig as Minister of the Parish of the Canongate in 1564, and there is extant a volume containing the records of the Kirk-session[2] during the first years of his ministry, which throws curious light on the life and work of the young Church of the Reformation, and some information regarding the Court of Holyrood during Queen Mary's years in the Palace. It is interesting to note that this newly-started congregation, full of religious fervour, at once tried to grapple with that question which is not even yet quite solved in the Canongate—Poverty. The parish was divided into four divisions, with two deacons and two elders for each. There is a list of the donations received from the faithful brethren, and a note of the spendings on the poor. Very quaint also to the men of our century is this Minute of the "Assembly" of the Church of the Canongate of 23rd February 1565, when the

[1] Knox's History (Laing), vol. i. p. 391.

[2] This is in the New Register House in Edinburgh.

Superintendent made a visitation in order to inquire into the life of the Church. The Scottish Church would not suffer Bishops, but it had them in another form under the name of Superintendents. "The which day John Brand, minister, being removed for trial of his life and doctrine, the whole Kirk answered we have nothing to lay to his charge neither for life nor doctrine, but praise his God for the same, beseeching his Holy Spirit to increase it on him." After the "trial" of the Minister, came that of the Elders, and there followed the "trial" of the life and conversation of the members. As was the custom of the time, the Kirk-session was largely occupied in exercising discipline, especially for breach of the Seventh Commandment,—the Church honestly doing its utmost to check the shocking immorality of the time. This Church's records recall the fact that at the foot of the Canongate at this time there was a large foreign colony—Queen Mary's great household of French servants—and that their morals were not of a high order. The names of several of the men belonging to the Royal Household are mentioned in the Kirk-session's minutes in conjunction with the names of erring women. It was only on the female sinners of the Canongate that the Session could exercise discipline; the men, being members of the Royal Household, were beyond its jurisdiction. It is curious to notice, too, that some of the dwellers in the Canongate still "hankered" after the old faith, and that there were those who ventured to take their children to be baptised according to the Romish rites in the Royal Chapel—an action not to be lightly passed over. Queen Mary's retention of a thoroughly French household, with a chapel ministered to by French Roman Catholic priests, did not tend to give confidence to the intensely Protestant

capital of Scotland. The succession of ministers in this Parish of Canongate—often termed during the first century of its existence the Parish of Halyrudhous—may be traced from John Craig, inducted in 1561, down to the present incumbent, and the early Register of Marriages has been put in print by the Scottish Record Society.

The troubles which afflicted this parish church worshipping in the old Church of the Monastery were those common to the parishes of Scotland at the time—poverty, reflected, for instance, in the difficulty of keeping the parish kirk water-tight. The trouble in the case of the Canongate church was perhaps increased by the fact that it had been the church of a monastery, and that the revenues of this monastery had been secularised at the Reformation, and made a lordship for the benefit of the abbot, Lord Robert Stewart, one of Queen Mary's half-brothers. With the lands belonging to the Abbey Lord Robert took over the care of all the parish churches attached to the Abbey, including the church of the Canongate; and when Lord Robert exchanged his temporalities with Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney—a strange transaction, not appreciated even in the sixteenth century—the responsibility for the fabric of the churches passed to Bothwell. In 1569 the Assembly of the Scottish Church being advised that the Abbey Church, in which the people of the Canongate worshipped, was so out of repair as to be unsafe, summoned Bothwell before it and called him to account. The minute bears: "That the said Kirks for the most part wherein Christ's evangell may be preached are decayed and made some sheep-folds, and some so ruinous that none dare venture into them for fear of falling, specially Halruidhouse." Bishop Bothwell replied: "That the Abbay Church of Halyrudhous hath been these twenty

years bygane ruinous through decay of two principall pillars, so that none were assured under it, and that two thousand pounds bestowit upon it would not be sufficient to ease men to the hearing of the Word and ministration of the Sacraments. But with their consent, and help of an established authority, he was purposed to provide the means that the superfluous ruinous parts, to wit, the Quere, and Croce Kirk might be disponed by faithful men to repair the remanent sufficiently."[1] The Assembly seems to have accepted the offer, and Bothwell to have carried it out, by taking down the ruins of the church east of the transepts, and by erecting a new east window and gable. When finished, the parish church occupied practically the space of the present ruin. The principal events in the story of the fabric of the old Abbey Church while it remained a parish church have already been told in connection with the history of the Palace. In 1590 King James VI. took possession of the church, and fitted it up for the coronation of his queen. In 1617, when he returned to his native country, it was not the Abbey Church, but the chapel within the Palace, which he fitted for Episcopal worship. In 1633 Charles I. restored the Abbey Church, on the petition of the Session of the Canongate, having resolved to have his coronation in the old church of the Monastery. Its history from 1672 to the present time will be afterwards referred to. Now it stands roofless and ruined, a sad memorial of the glories of the great religious house which our old Scottish kings had loved, and in which some of them were buried.

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, vol. i. p. 163.

HOLYROOD HOUSE. FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

CHAPTER XI.

A ROYAL PALACE WITHOUT A KING.

THE Palace which Charles II. grafted on to the building which James V. had erected is the Holyrood House which we now know; its immediate surroundings have altered completely, but the royal house has changed but little during the last two centuries and a half. There was removed in the early years of last century, from the north gable of James V.'s Tower, a quaint house built against it, which tradition declared to be the lodge of the lay-Abbot of Holyrood. On the south side of the Palace the Chancellor's house, which Charles spared when he rebuilt the Palace, and a kitchen court which Charles erected, have since disappeared. These demolitions have not, however, materially affected the fabric of the house which Sir William Bruce planned for Charles II. The gardens, too, are there still — the south garden, in which Thomas Randolph saw Queen Mary having a merry shooting-match; and the north garden, which Mary of Guise purchased and laid out. Both have been encroached on by the new approaches to the Palace, but remain gardens still. It is the Monastery which Time and Man's device have treated so harshly; and as a protest against this cruelty, the Abbey Church shows itself, roofless and shrunk to less than half its original size.

In the year in which the final payments were made for the new Palace, it received two distinguished visitors. These were the "killing times" in Scotland, and the senseless cruelty of the persecution of the Covenanters drove the "Westlan' Whigs" into rebellion, and at Drumclog they defeated Claverhouse and his dragoons. The Duke of Monmouth, one of Charles II.'s illegitimate sons, was sent north to lead the troops which suppressed the rebellion. He arrived in Holyrood on the 18th June 1679. Monmouth took his seat on the Privy Council, and the entry in the minutes reminds the reader of his connection with Scotland. Monmouth is styled in the minute the Duke of Buccleuch;[1] he had married the heiress of the Scotts of Buccleuch, the lady of whom Scott writes in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel"—

> "For she had known adversity,—
> Had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb!"

Monmouth remained in Holyrood for one night on his first visit, but returned on the 26th June,[2] having in the week's interval defeated the Covenanters at Bothwell Brig. The butchery which followed was not Monmouth's fault; he seems to have been a gentle, well-intentioned man, who would have endeavoured to bring peace to the distracted country if Lauderdale and his brethren of the Privy Council had permitted him. Monmouth stayed at Holyrood until the 6th July, and then returned south.

In the end of the same year 1679, a more important man than Monmouth visited the Palace—the King's brother and heir to the throne, James, Duke of York and Albany, who afterwards succeeded as James II. The Duke had adopted the Roman Catholic faith, which caused

[1] Privy Council Register, vol. vi. p. 64.

[2] Ibid., p. 245.

a violent agitation in England against his succession to the throne, so it was considered expedient to get him out of the way, and he was sent to Scotland as the Royal Commissioner to Parliament. A Royal Warrant was issued "for voiding all the lodgings and removing all the goods and furniture now therein," which called on the noblemen who had so recently received grants of apartments in the Palace to vacate them, with the exception of the Chancellor who retained his house, and the Duke of Hamilton who kept possession of the "gate house as formerly." [1]

The Duke arrived on the 24th November; "was received with great solemnity, and was sumptuously entertained by town and nobility." [2] He took his seat at the Council Board, attended the Council regularly, and threw his influence in favour of the "violent party," who were responsible for the persecution of the Covenanters.[3] The Duke remained in Holyrood at this time for less than three months, leaving on the 15th February 1680. When, however, he returned to Whitehall, his presence there was found inconvenient, so he again went into retirement in Scotland. On this visit he came north by sea, landed at Kirkcaldy on the 25th October 1680, and stayed at Leslie in Fife for a few days, until Holyrood was got ready for his reception. The Duke was accompanied by his second wife, Mary d'Este, while his daughter by his first wife, the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen Anne, joined the Court in a short time. Their stay at Holyrood extended from October 1680 to March 1682, and many traditions remain regarding the brilliancy of the Palace during this time, and the many ways in which Duke and Duchess courted the Scots. Balls, plays, and masquerades were given; the

[1] State Papers, Domestic, vol. 1679-80, p. 261.
[2] Woodrow, book iii., p. 110. [3] Ibid.

Duchess introduced a rare herb called "tea," hitherto unknown in Scotland, for the entertainment of her callers; while the Duke played golf on Leith Links, having as his "caddie" John Paterson, a Canongate shoemaker. To neutralise the effect of these bids for popularity, the Duke ran counter to Scottish opinion by fitting up one of the rooms of Holyrood as a chapel for Roman Catholic worship; and—what was then considered equally wicked—by using the Tennis Court, a building in the North Palace Garden abutting on the Water Gate, as a theatre, and bringing from England a company of players. The "Duke's Walk," near the Palace, is a memorial of the path which was James's favourite promenade.

Charles II. died on the 6th February 1685, and on the 10th the Duke of York was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, under the style of James VII., King of the Scots. His reign lasted less than four years, but long before the time was out James had exhausted the patience of his subjects in both England and Scotland. Lord Fountainhall, a shrewd old Scots judge, whose diaries are the best picture of the times, has left an estimate of James's character, written when he was in residence at Holyrood, which appears singularly correct. "Some wise men observed that the Duke of York might have honesty, justice, and courage enough, and his father's peremptoriness, but that he had neither great conduct, nor a deep reach in affairs, but was a silly man."[1] His conduct toward Scotland after he came to the throne certainly proved James to be a "silly man"; for of all the phantasies which clouded the brains of our Stewart kings, surely James's idea of converting Scotland to the Roman Catholic faith, and the means he took to carry this out, were the silliest.

[1] Fountainhall, p. 327.

James found the Duke of Queensberry in power as the real governor of Scotland; but Queensberry had one point of conscience left which he would not yield,—he would not turn Roman Catholic to please the King. So Queensberry was superseded, and the conduct of Scottish affairs passed into the hands of James Drummond, Earl of Perth, who as Chancellor ruled Scotland from Holyrood, while his brother John, with the title of Lord Melfort, assisted as Scottish Secretary at Whitehall. Both brothers obliged the King by changing their faith and turning Roman Catholic, while another noble equally accommodating, who bore the honoured title of Earl of Moray, was appointed as the King's Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament which met in Edinburgh on the 29th April 1686. To this Parliament was read a letter from the King, asking relief for his Roman Catholic subjects from the laws which oppressed them equally with the Presbyterians,—the sufferings of the latter did not grieve the King. After a long struggle the measure advocated by the King was thrown out; Parliament was then dissolved. In connection with Moray's appointment as Commissioner to Parliament, there are several interesting entries in the Treasury Register, which show the grants to the Commissioner for his expenses. On the 4th March a warrant from the King instructs the Duke of Hamilton, as Keeper, to prepare the Queen's apartments in the Palace for the use of his Commissioner during the sitting of Parliament; and on the 20th April £2500 sterling is allowed for his "equipage"; on 8th June a further grant of £500 is given, as Parliament had continued its sitting longer than was expected.[1]

The Scottish Parliament having refused its consent to

[1] Treasury Register MS., 1686.

the King's wishes, James proceeded to carry out his policy in his own way. He had in the Committee called the Lords of the Treasury a fitting instrument. It was a small body of six, mostly Roman Catholics, and through it, rather than through the Privy Council, he seems to have usually acted; the Earl of Perth was its Chairman, its meeting-place was Holyrood. On September 25, 1686, a letter from the King is read instructing the Duke of Hamilton to deliver to Lord Perth the keys of "the great room in our said Palace which formerly was designed to be the Council Chamber to be made up as our own Chappell";[1] while the following February some structural alterations on the Palace are made to enable this Chapel to be enlarged. Shortly after the order had been given for the fitting up of the Chapel, the "King's yacht arrived from London at Leith with the Popish altar, vestments, images, priests, and other dependers for the Popish chapel in the Abbey."[2] On St Andrew's Day there took place the ceremony of dedication;[3] a Treasury Grant was made for music in this Chapel, and also for bread and wine for Communion. The King's next step for the benefit of his Scottish subjects was the setting up of a printing press, from which might be promulgated the truth as held by James. By Royal Warrant, James Watson was appointed "printer to our household in our ancient kingdom," and on December 21, 1686, the Treasury Committee ordered "a shop to be built for his use in the outer Court of our Palace."[4] The story of the career of "Watson, the Popish Printer," is one of the most curious in the byways of Scottish history. Watson enjoyed special privileges, which on his death were continued to his suc-

[1] Treasury Register MS., 1686.
[2] Fountainhall, p. 763.
[3] Ibid., p. 763.
[4] Treasury Register MS., 1687.

cessor, Peter Bruce. The Privy Council insisted that the other printers and booksellers "should declare on oath what books they kept and sold," but "James Watson, the Popish Printer, is excepted from this Act."[1] It is doubtful whether Watson's religious publications, even with such attractive titles as 'A Christian Diurnall' or 'A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church,' commanded a large sale among a stiff-necked people like the Scots. The King, however, certainly did his best for his printer.[2] In the two years which followed, James again and again ordered grants for the purchase of Bruce's publications coming from this press, the Earl of Perth being chosen to select the volumes and to find readers for them.[3]

The King proceeded steadily on the path which he had chosen. On August 15, 1687, James issued his Royal Warrant to the Keeper of the Palace to hand over the Chancellor's House to the "Society of the Jesuits, to be made use of by them as a College for their own use."[4] He not only gave them this part of the Royal Palace for their school, but he endowed it; so that from this time to the conclusion of the reign, first of all John Seatoun and then Lewis Leslie, "Superior of the Jesuits," drew a monthly allowance from the Treasury. To compensate the Earl of Perth for the loss of the Chancellor's House, apartments seem to have been found for him "in the north quarter of his Majesty's Palace." As might have been expected, this establishment of a Jesuit College was hotly resented by the people of Edinburgh, and the indignation increased when it was found that

[1] Fountainhall, p. 816.

[2] See 'The Holyrood Press,' by W. Cowan. Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vol. vi.

[3] Treasury Register, 1681, p. 308.

[4] Scottish State Papers, vol. xii. p. 323.

young men were being tempted to leave the "Tounis Colledge" and resort to the Jesuit College at Holyrood.[1]

But James had yet another scheme to execute at Holyrood; he had resided in the Palace for two years, and of course knew the place thoroughly. The Abbey Church was still the Kirk of the Canongate and a Protestant place of worship; the congregation had been "warned out" when the Palace was rebuilt by Charles II., but had not yet vacated it. On December 3, 1687, the Royal Warrant was issued ordering the Chapel of Holyrood—that is to say, the Church of the Monastery—to be prepared "for our own Catholic Chapel," and also for the ceremonies and solemnities of the most noble order of the Thistle.[2] The work required to carry out the needful alterations on the fabric was entrusted to James Smith, "overseer of his Majesty's Works"; "but forasmuch as much of the work for the King's own Catholic Chapel can be best done in London, the King has instructed James Foulis, merchant in London, to engage carvers, joiners, and other workmen;"[3] and the Treasury Committee is instructed to honour Foulis's bills when presented. The work on the Abbey Church went steadily forward, and by December 1688 the Church was nearly ready for consecration, when a change in the history of the country took place. On the 5th November the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and on the 18th December he entered London. The news of the success of the Prince roused the Edinburgh citizens, and the first thing they turned their attention to was Holyrood and the Jesuits. On the 17th December a crowd, largely composed of students and the younger townspeople, marched through the

[1] Fountainhall, p. 860. [2] Ibid., p. 808.
[3] Treasury Register MS., 1686-88, p. 350.

Netherbow Port and down the Canongate. They were stopped at the Abbey Porch by the Palace-guard of about 120 men, which under their Captain, John Wallace, was drawn across the street. The mob were so evidently hostile that Wallace ordered his men to fire, killing and wounding several of the crowd.[1] The leaders of the mob drew their men off and retired to Edinburgh; they got together a quorum of the Privy Council, and they called out the train-bands. Again the citizens marched on Holyrood, preceded by two of the Heralds and with the Provost and Magistrates in their robes. Wallace retired into the Palace, which he refused to yield; but the crowd managed to gain entry from the back, and at last the guard surrendered. Then the mob dealt with King James's innovations, and for two days thoroughly enjoyed themselves. They cleared out the Jesuit College, and threw the contents, including its Library, into the Fore-court for burning. They rifled the Private Chapel in the Palace of all it contained, adding the priests' vestments to the bonfire. The Abbey Church they utterly wrecked, tearing down the stalls erected for the Knights of the Thistle, and pulling up the beautiful marble pavement which had been laid. "The Popish Printer's" shop was swept out of existence, and its publications helped the bonfire.[2] Then, satisfied with their work, "they opened the Chancellor's cellars and made themselves as drunk with wine as before they had been with zeal."[3] Of all James's creatures, the Scots hated and despised the Earl of Perth the most, so they would consume the contents of his cellar with great satisfaction.

So perished all that James had done at Holyrood

[1] Balcarres' Memoirs, pp. 15, 16.

[2] Woodrow, vol. ii. p. 650.

[3] Balcarres' Memoirs, p. 16.

during his reign towards the conversion of the Scottish people, and the Palace of Holyrood House was left desolate. Disgraced too was the Abbey Church; for the rabble broke into the Royal Vault and destroyed the coffins of James V. and of his fair young Queen, Madelaine, as well as that of Darnley.

James VII.'s policy as King was what Samuel Johnson would have termed the "grand climaterix" of the infatuation of the later Stewart kings. During a whole century they had persisted in attempting to carry on the government of Scotland contrary to the principles and prejudices of the people, and the natural result was the Revolution of 1688. The Treasury Records give a strange glimpse of the conduct of minor affairs at the very time when the end came and James had to escape from the country in disguise. There is an entry, of date 5th December 1688, containing the list of Martinmas payments.[1] These include not only the money paid out for the proselytising work at Holyrood, but also grants to the Benedictine monks "whom we ordered to be sent for from beyond the sea"; to a Catholic mission to the Highlands; to the Scottish Monastery at Ratisbon; to the Scots Catholic Colleges at Rome, at Paris, and at Douai; and to one of the "Regents" in Edinburgh College who was doing proselytising work there. The final accounts for James's reign finish with a pleasant human touch arising out of the great riot of the 17th and 18th December at Holyrood. The Abbey Church was receiving the finishing touches as the Chapel Royal, and eighteen workmen—joiners, carvers, and organ-builders—were at work; the mob when it wrecked the church destroyed or took away their tools, so they petitioned the Treasury Commis-

[1] Treasury Sederunt Book, Dec. 1688.

sioners to recoup them for their loss. The Lords of the Treasury had been changed, and now represented the Protestant party; but they appear to have had compassion on the workmen, and repaid them what they had lost.[1] One other fact the Accounts also disclose, that the system of giving grants of suites of rooms in Holyrood to prominent officials was in full force.

The Revolution of 1688 ended the importance of Holyrood Palace as the centre of the Government system of Scotland. Since Queen Mary's time, at any rate, Holyrood Palace had been the home of the Privy Council. Owing to the determination of the later Stewart kings to govern without a Parliament, the Privy Council had become during the seventeenth century the controlling power in Scotland. The Revolution restored the functions of Parliament, and the importance of the Scottish Privy Council diminished accordingly. The Privy Council continued to exist, although robbed of its importance, until 1708, when it passed out of existence, according to a provision of the Treaty of Union. Lord Macaulay's opinion of the Scottish Privy Council of Charles II.'s time may be taken as strictly correct: "In truth the Council Chamber at Edinburgh had been, during a quarter of a century, a seminary of all public and of all private vices."[2]

The Revolution left the Duke of Hamilton in possession as keeper of the Palace, and on the 20th May 1689 he reported regarding the condition of Holyrood to the Earl of Melville, who had been appointed by William III. to the position of Scottish Secretary, and as such resided in London. "But give me leave to remember your Lordship, that the ruinous condition of this house requires great preparations before it can be capable to receive his Majesty,

[1] Loose Treasury Papers MS., Register House. [2] History, vol. ii. p. 369 (ed. 1858).

it having been spoyled when the rabble fell on the Earl Perth's loadging in this house and the chappell, and his stables having been burnt a little before." The Palace was repaired to some extent; how far it was then made habitable cannot be traced. The Privy Council however ceased to make Holyrood its regular place of meeting, except when his Majesty's Commissioner to Parliament was in residence, and seems to have made its home in the Privy Council Chamber in the Parliament Close.[1] One important piece of work was carried out at this time in the Royal Park. In the Treasury Sederunt of 27th February 1691 there is a charge, amounting to £4076 sterling, for "rebuilding the Wall round the Park of Holyroodhouse,"—the wall round Arthur Seat, as shown in the sketch of 1544.[2] A curious point regarding the old Royal Park which came up at this time may be noted. It was claimed by Sir James Hamilton and the Earl of Haddington that they were the hereditary keepers of the Royal Park, and as such had the right to draw all rents received from the Park. The Privy Council went into the matter, and in June 1690 reported that Sir James and the Earl had substantiated their claim, and should receive "the ordinary profites arysing thereby, in tyme coming."[3]

William III. was too much occupied with Continental wars to visit Scotland; he died in 1702, having been predeceased by his wife, whose sister Anne succeeded to the throne. In Queen Anne's reign occurred an event which was to alter fundamentally the position of Holyrood. The Legislative Union of Scotland and England was carried through, and when the Scottish Parliament ceased to sit in the Parliament Close, it followed that Commissioners no

[1] Thomas Morer's Short Account of Scotland, 1689.
[2] Treasury Sederunt, 1690-92, p. 191. [3] Ibid., p. 150.

longer came to Holyrood to represent the King. Anne's short reign of twelve years forms an intensely interesting chapter in British history. It is illumined by the wonderful military genius of Marlborough; politically it is interesting from the clash of the two strong currents—the Whig love for ordered freedom, and the Jacobite longing for the exiled Stewarts. In Scotland both these tendencies had great force, and the situation was further complicated by the action of the Government, which had resolved on a Legislative Union of Scotland with England. The last scenes in the Parliament of Scotland were very dramatic, and roused Edinburgh, at any rate, to its depths. How far Scotland as a whole was interested in the Union controversy it is difficult to say; for during the greater part of the seventeenth century it was the Privy Council rather than the Scottish Parliament which had controlled the country, so that Parliament had in great measure been forgotten.

The Scottish Parliament appeared nobler in its dying than it had ever been in its life, except during the great Parliament of 1560, which was dominated by the noble personality of John Knox. The death of King William entailed elections for a new Parliament, which met on 6th May 1703, with Queensberry as the Royal Commissioner, the Chancellor, the Earl of Marchmont, acting as Speaker. The Privy Council seemed to anticipate the historic importance of the Parliament about to meet, for it appointed a Committee to consider all formalities regarding the opening, which on the 3rd May reported "the method and manner of Ryding the Parliament, with the orders and rules appointed thereanent."[1] These extend to twenty-nine Articles, and are followed by "the order

[1] Privy Council Register.

of proceeding." Lieut.-General Ramsay, "Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesties Forces within this Kingdom," is instructed to dispose Her Majesties Foot Guards so as to "form a lane" from the Palace of Holyruidhouse to the Netherbow, where the train-bands of the City take up the work of lining the street to the Lady's Steps at St Giles. There a platform is erected on which the riders may dismount, and walk into the Parliament House. All members of Parliament are to wait on the Commissioner in the Guard Hall of Holyrood Palace at 10 o'clock, leaving their horses and attendants in the "outer close." Then the Lord Register and the Lord Lyon call the names of the members, according to their orders, and they mount their horses, and two by two proceed to the Parliament House. Every member of Parliament must appear on horseback, their attendants walking at their side. It was necessary to have the long line of Canongate and High Street reduced to an unnatural degree of cleanliness to serve so noble a procession. It will be noted that there is no place reserved in the procession for Bishops, the legislation of William III.'s reign having abolished Bishops and placed the Presbyterian Church again in power.

The Parliament so carefully inaugurated proved impossible to manage; it quarrelled with the Parliament of England regarding the succession to the throne, and refused to pledge itself to the Hanoverian line which England had adopted in succession to the last of the Stewarts, Queen Anne. The quarrel went on through three sessions, and civil war seemed in sight; when, in 1705, the Government forced through the Scottish Parliament a Bill appointing Commissioners to treat with Commissioners representing England, for the purpose of considering an incorporating Union. The two sets of representatives, thirty-one for each

country, met in Whitehall in the spring of 1706 and drafted a Treaty of Union, which was brought before the Scottish Parliament in October. For four months the Parliament Hall resounded with the debates on the clauses of the Treaty, while Holyrood House saw the conferences of the two parties—the one for and the other against the Union. It was a strange accident which made Holyrood the headquarters of both sides. On one side of the Palace Quadrangle the Duke of Queensberry lived in the royal apartments as the Queen's Commissioner. He had been chosen to fill this post as being a notable manager of men, and because from his knowledge of the Scotsmen of his day, and of their weaknesses, he was the man most likely to carry through the Act for a Union. On the opposite side of the Quadrangle, occupying his rooms as Hereditary Keeper of the Palace, the Duke of Hamilton had his abode. He was the magnificent nobleman whom Thackeray has sketched as honouring Beatrix Esmond with an offer of marriage. Hamilton was the recognised leader of the opponents of the Union, but his haughty and uncertain temper little fitted him for Parliamentary warfare. The inhabitants of the long line of high houses between Holyrood and the Parliament Close were deeply interested in the goings-on of the politicians. Hamilton, after a stormy day's debate in Parliament, returned in his chair, with the escort of a great crowd of the younger citizens cheering him as the saviour of his country.[1] Queensberry, the Commissioner for Queen Anne, went down the old Canongate in his coach with six horses, and his escort of Horse Guards could scarcely protect him from the rabble, and did not save his carriage and servants from the missiles which were flung

[1] Mar and Kellie Papers, p. 298.

from the high houses on either side.[1] There was no doubt as to which side in the controversy the Edinburgh crowd took.

The great debate on the Union was begun on the 12th October 1706, and was conducted with great ability on both sides. On the side of the Government, the man of pre-eminent power was John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair, a learned lawyer and great debater. One of his opponents declared "that there was none in the Parliament capable to take up the cudgels with him." It was on the side of the opposition that the greatest eloquence was shown, and the echo of the perfervid speeches and the fervent appeals to the patriotism of the Scots in the outbursts of Lord Belhaven and Fletcher of Saltoun still linger in the memory of Scotsmen. But the majority of Parliament was in favour of the measure, and the Scottish Church supported it, having received "An Act of Security," which provided that the Presbyterian form should for ever remain the only government of the Church. In the early days of January 1707, a meeting was held in the Keeper's House at Holyrood of the opponents of the Union, to consider the situation, for only four out of the twenty-five clauses of the Treaty remained to be passed. A last great effort was resolved on, and a plan of attack was suggested by the Duke of Hamilton. The morning of the great day of battle arrived, but the Duke was not in his place in the Parliament House; the party leaders sent for him, and received a message that his Grace was ill with toothache and could not come.[2] The opposition did not recover from the Duke's desertion, and on the 16th January 1707 the Act of Union was passed by the Scottish

[1] Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 166.
[2] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 200-213.

Parliament by 110 votes to 69, and sent on to be considered by the Parliament of England.

On the 13th February following, the Peers of Scotland met at Holyrood Palace and elected the sixteen who were to represent their order in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and at the Palace they have met for the succeeding two centuries whenever writs are issued for a new Parliament.

When the Scottish Parliament closed its doors, and there was "the end of an auld sang," as Chancellor Seafield most feelingly put it, the Scottish Privy Council wound up matters, and itself passed out of existence. Holyrood Palace and the rest of the Royal property in Scotland came under the charge of the Barons of Exchequer, and it is "The Register" of the Proceedings of that august body which for more than a century contains the official record of what happened to Holyrood. Not much happened, except the sure progress of decay. The barons were too good eighteenth-century Scotsmen to trouble themselves about the sentiment attaching to any old house; besides, they always had very little money in their hands. They trusted mainly to the nobles who had "apartments" in the Palace to keep roof and windows water-tight; only occasionally was money from the Treasury spent on the fabric.

One fact may be noted here—that the ordinary name for Holyrood House in the diaries of these times is "The Abbay." The Privy Council meets at "The Abbay,"—or a longer heading is used—"The Abbey of Holyrood House"; during the Union riots, "the Duke goes down the Canongate to his apartments in the Abbay"; when Prince Charlie returned from the camp, "he came to the Abey, where he received the ladies of fashion that came

to his drawing-room." The Monastery of Holyrood ceased to exist in 1544, the Abbey Church was for a century and a half a Presbyterian stronghold; but the old name remained in force and actually annexed the Palace. It lingered in the mouths of the Canongate worthies far into the nineteenth century.

For a generation Holyrood House was forgotten, and then in 1745 there occurred that strangely dramatic event in Scottish history—the attempt of James VII.'s grandson to win back Scotland for the Stewarts. For seven weeks Holyrood became once more a palace with a court. The Rebellion was the end of the Middle Ages in Scotland—it was a glorious attempt of sentiment to triumph over common-sense when presented in a singularly unattractive guise. The story of Prince Charles Edward's life at Holyrood House is pleasant to tell, but there are not many facts regarding it recorded. In his march southwards, after raising his standard at Glen Finnan, the Prince spent the night of 16th-17th September 1745 at Slateford, a village three miles to the west of the Walls of Edinburgh. During the day of the 16th the situation had been simplified by the disgraceful flight of the regular troops who garrisoned Edinburgh, which encouraged the volunteers raised by the city to disband and return their arms to the Castle. The armed force which was to have guarded the capital was thus gone. With daybreak on the 17th a detachment of Camerons, under Lochiel, was despatched from the Highland army round the south side of Edinburgh to the eastern gate—the Netherbow Port—to force an entrance. A happy accident prevented bloodshed. A hackney coach returning from Edinburgh to its stable in the Canongate caused the gate to be opened, and Lochiel prevented its being shut again. When the

citizens began to think about breakfast, on the morning of the 17th September, they found the city in the hands of the rebels, and that its inhabitants were called on to change allegiance from George II. to James VIII. The military position was, that the walled City of Edinburgh was in the power of the Jacobites—the Castle being held by a garrison for King George. Prince Charles at Slateford—west of the city—desired to take up his quarters at Holyrood Palace to the east, while the Castle guns commanded all the roads between the two points, and Charles had no cannon of any importance. Prince Charles solved the difficulty by leading his little army southward until the Jordan Burn was reached; he then followed the course of the stream eastwards to Priestfield, and thus kept high ground between his forces and the Castle. At Prestonfield, through a break in the park wall, he passed into the Hunter's Bog, and so to the Duke's Walk immediately to the south-east of the Palace.[1] Here what is termed "vast crowds" met him and gave him a most enthusiastic reception, kissing his hands and his very boots. So great was the pressure that the Prince had to mount his horse.[2] Then, with the Duke of Perth on his right and Lord Elcho on his left, he rode to the entrance of the Palace, and passed into the Quadrangle.[3] Among those receiving him here was an old East Lothian Jacobite, James Hepburn of Keith, who had been "out in the '15"; the old man, drawing his sword, marshalled his Prince up into the Hamilton Rooms.[4] As the Prince entered the Palace, the Castle guns, which he had hitherto managed to avoid, put in an angry snarl, for a round-shot from

[1] Lockhart, vol. ii. p. 446.
[2] Maxwell's Narrative, p. 38.
[3] Affairs of Scotland, pp. 258-260.
[4] Ibid.

the Castle struck James V.'s Tower, and glancing off, fell into the Quadrangle.[1] In answer to the demands of the crowd, the Prince appeared at one of the windows of the South Tower, and received a great ovation. At noon on the same day, at the Cross of Edinburgh, James VIII. was proclaimed King of the Scots, and the Prince was named as Regent for his father.

Charles Edward's taking up his residence at Holyrood was a stroke of political genius, strangely unlike the utter density of the political mind during the time. It was a century since a Stewart King had lived in the Palace, and his presence there, if nothing else, made Charles Edward a notable Scotsman. The Prince, as an individual actor, and putting out of consideration the folly of his attempt to conquer the United Kingdom with most inadequate resources, was a great success. His life at Holyrood was creditable both to him and to his followers. It is described by Sir Walter Scott in 'Waverley' in a manner which can never again be equalled, for Scott as a young man had been the friend of many ladies who, as young women, had adored the Prince. Scott therefore drew his inspiration from the fountain-head. Prince Charles was in many ways admirably fitted to play the part he laid out for himself at Holyrood. He was a handsome man, approaching six feet in height, in the prime of young manhood; very good-looking, with big blue eyes and fair hair, and to add to his power over women, he had the dreamy, pensive look of Charles I.[2] He was singularly approachable to high and low; and after his success in the battle of Prestonpans won admiration by using his authority to protect the vanquished. He lived a very Spartan, simple life. There is a Jacobite

[1] Robert Chambers' Rebellion, p. 117. [2] Ibid., p. 112.

toast of the Edinburgh of the time which must have been the excuse for an enormous consumption of claret: "A Prince who could eat a dry crust, sleep on pease-straw; take his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five."[1] He had the supreme pride which fails to notice offence. When Neil MacVicar, the minister of St Cuthbert's Church and a Hanoverian, safe under the Castle guns, obeyed the proclamation to pray for the Prince by offering this petition: "And as for the man who has come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech Thee, in mercy, to take him to Thyself and give him a Crown of Glory,"[2] Charles laughed heartily and approved the prayer. The Prince dressed well and skilfully used the Clan tartans. Of course, the kilt as now worn was then unknown, but Charles had tartan plaids and coats, and waistcoats and breeches. It is stated that he always appeared in breeches and riding-boots.

The Prince made Holyrood House his headquarters while in Edinburgh. His own residence was in James V.'s Tower, principally in the Hamilton apartments. By a strange chance we know the condition in which the rooms on this side of the Quadrangle were; for, only a few weeks before Prince Charles took possession, they had been visited by Lady Oxford, the widow of Queen Anne's minister, and she tells about them. She came to Holyrood to dine with Lord Breadalbane. "Duke Hamilton lives in the Queen's apartment, which is very well kept." (By Queen, she probably means Queen Mary.) "Lord Breadalbane's lodgings are over them, and are very fine rooms and extremely well furnished, and command a fine view of the sea."[3] So the Prince found quarters for himself

[1] Chambers', p. 175. [2] Ibid., p. 292.
[3] Quoted in Masson's Praise of Edinburgh, p. 120.

ready to hand. What was lacking in the shape of "plate, china, and linen" was freely supplied by the leading ladies of his party.[1] The Duke of Argyle's suite of rooms was used as "an office for military stores."[2] John Murray of Broughton, the Regent's Secretary of State, must have used a considerable portion of the building, as all the proclamations which he signed as Secretary of State are dated from Holyrood; and all the requisitions he issued are to be delivered at Holyrood, whether they were payable in cash or in kind.[3]

Besides these portions of the Palace, the Prince had the picture gallery for his receptions and balls, the memory of which still lives. "The Prince's Court at Holyrood-house soon became very brilliant. There were every day from morning to night a vast affluence of well-dressed people. There had not been a Court in Scotland for a long time, and people came from all quarters to see so many novelties."[4] The Prince gave the public many opportunities of seeing him. He held a council of officials and Highland chiefs in the morning, afterwards "he dined with his principal officers in publick, where there was always a crowd of all sorts of people to see him dine."[5] Then, attended by his Life Guards, he rode out to Duddingston, where his troops were encamped. Returning to Holyrood, "he received the ladies of fashion that came to his Drawing-room." Supper was also taken in public, and there followed music or a ball. Lord Elcho, who was entitled to speak on the subject, writes that "the Prince lived in Edinburgh with great splendour and magnifi-

[1] Bryce's Historical Review, p. 89.
[2] Caledonian Mercury, 7th October.
[3] Ibid., 30th September.
[4] Maxwell's Narrative, p. 45.
[5] Affairs of Scotland, by Lord Wemyss, p. 306.

cence."[1] It must be kept in mind that the Pretender drew to his banner the most accomplished men and women of their time in Scotland, although he failed to attract the "dour" common-sense of the body of the people. Prince Charles arrived at Holyrood House on the 17th September; he left it on the evening of the 31st October 1745, riding out into the dark, as Queen Mary had done nearly two centuries before; he never saw Holyrood again.

The reader who desires to know about the Prince and the spirit which prompted the Jacobite Rising of 1745 should seek information in the beautiful songs to which the Rising gave birth, rather than in the pages of formal history. If the authorised story of Prince Charles Edward Stewart's life be followed, it leads the reader to a grave in St Peter's great Church above the Tiber, and to a monument to a man who was faithful neither to man nor woman. The Bonnie Prince Charlie of the Ballads, the Prince to whom the most beautiful of the women of Scotland gave their devotion, was far different—he was true and chaste and honourable. This Prince must have been a child of the fairies, and when he rode out of the porch of Holyrood House into the dark night, must have passed back to fairyland. He now lives in the songs of Lady Nairne.

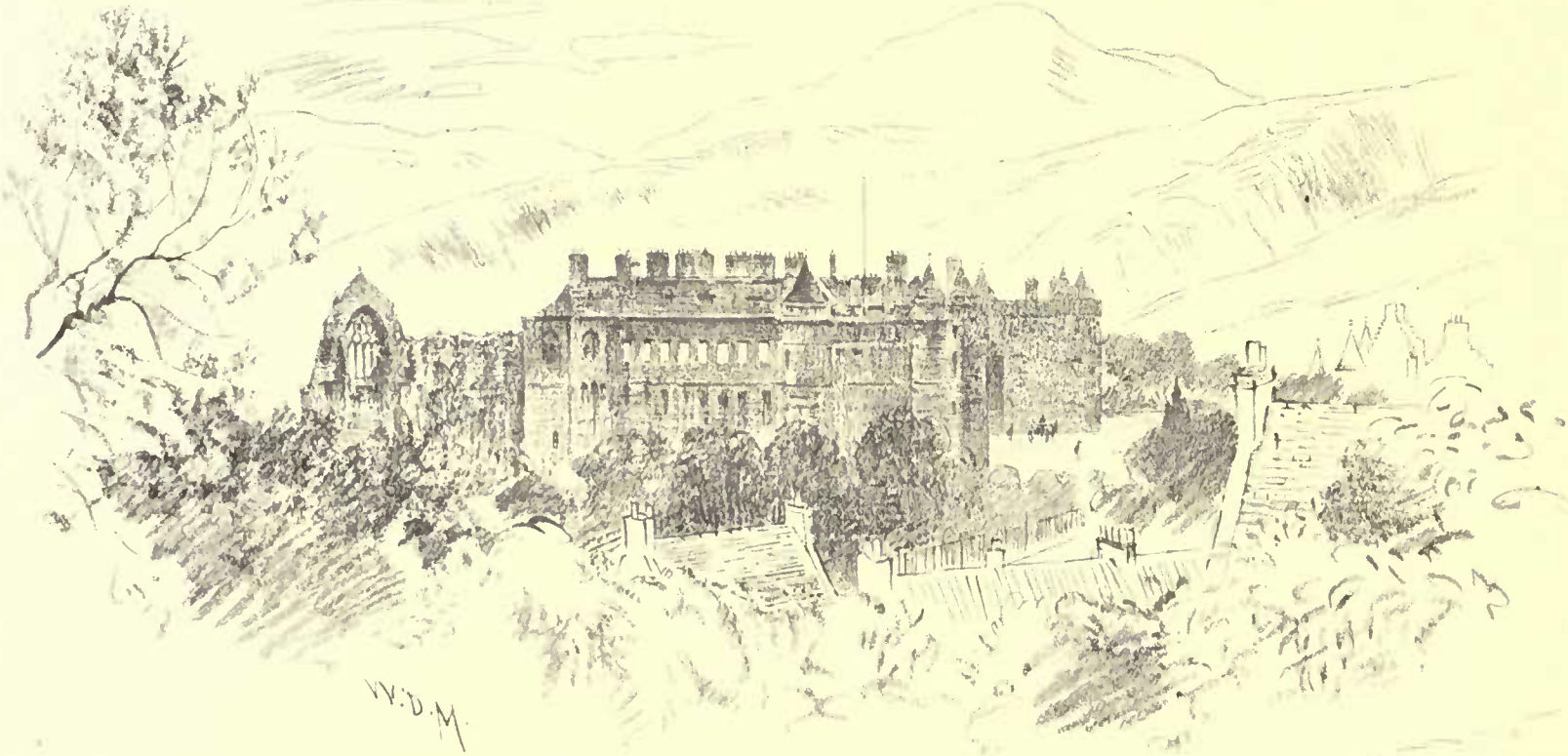
[1] Affairs of Scotland, by Lord Wemyss, pp. 297 and 306.

CHAPTER XII.

HOLYROOD IN MODERN TIMES.

Nearly two centuries have passed since the Rebellion of 1745, and there is perhaps no country in Europe which has changed more thoroughly than Scotland has done during that time. The portions of the country then separated by language and race have been unified and become a consistent whole in which the centrifugal force dominates; while Scotland has "found itself" and found her mission. As a natural consequence of this unification, the historical buildings of the country, such as the Cathedral of Iona, the Castle of Stirling, the group of remarkable buildings which tell the old importance of the town of St Andrews, and the Palace of Holyrood House, are now objects of reverence and of care, instead of being, as they were in the middle of the eighteenth century, quarries, out of which it was a sign of grace for any one to abstract dressed stones. The old buildings are now viewed as the manifest symbols of the country's history. Holyrood Palace, and even more, the old Church of the Monastery, had to drink the dregs of the cup of neglect, coupled with at times ill-considered attention, before the times of refreshing came upon them.

When Prince Charles and his Highlanders marched away from Holyrood on their way to conquer England, the Palace reverted into the hands of its hereditary keeper,



HOLYROOD HOUSE, FROM THE NORTH.

whose servants may possibly have remained during the Prince's residence. A soldier belonging to the opposite side was the next visitor at the Palace—George II.'s second son, William, Duke of Cumberland: he was quite competent as a soldier, but is known in Scottish local histories as "the butcher," owing to his excesses after Culloden. He arrived at Holyrood House at three o'clock on the morning of the 30th January 1746, and is said to have slept in the same bed which Prince Charles had occupied. He left at five o'clock next morning to take up the command of the English army. A Whig chronicler says that the people of Edinburgh were so glad to see Cumberland that they rang the town's bells. He was at least badly needed if the Hanoverian cause was to be upheld, for the Highland Army, after retiring from England, had just thoroughly defeated the Royal troops under Hawley at Falkirk.

The decade after the '45 saw some changes on the Palace and Chapel of Holyrood. In 1753, the Barons of Exchequer accepted estimates for bringing in a new water supply for the Palace, and for cleaning out the great sewer.[1] In 1755, £450 sterling was spent on the windows of the Palace, and two years later the wainscotting—"wainswalling" it is termed—of the Royal apartments was renewed. The next alteration on the Palace has not received the general approval of Edinburgh citizens. In 1753 the old porch of Holyrood, which must have been one of the most characteristic parts of the old Palace, was swept away. It had been erected by James IV. and remodelled by James V.: it had seen all the triumphs and all the tragedies enacted at Holyrood, and was now cleared away by the military authorities because it was said to be in the way of traffic which really did not exist. In all likeli-

[1] Exchequer Register, vol. ii. p. 218.

hood it was taken down to save it from falling. About the same time there were carted away the Town Cross of Edinburgh and the Netherbow Port,—the eastern gateway of Edinburgh, which gave entry into the burgh of Canongate. These all perished, probably because it required money to repair them, whereas the dressed stones of which they were built would pay the cost of pulling them down. There are preserved the doggerel rhymes of the poet of the Canongate of the time; he wrote under the *nom de plume* of Claudero, and wept salt tears over the destruction of the holy places of the old court burgh of the Canongate. His poem entitled "The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holy-Rood-House, which fell under Military Execution, Anno 1753," is a bitter wail. The Porch cries—

> "What is my crime? Oh, what my blot?
> Auld Reekie cry'd, thou'rt an old Scot."

The destruction of the Porch of Holyrood was in truth a piece of pure vandalism. A few years after the ruin of the Abbey Church followed, owing to the untradesmanlike handling of it by those chosen by the Barons of Exchequer to restore it. The church had been altered by James II. in 1688, so as to fit it for Roman Catholic worship; the alterations were hurriedly done and probably tended to weaken the fabric. Then in the December of the same year, the Edinburgh mob sacked the church, and probably further injured the building; at least it is certain that the windows were smashed and the weather freely admitted. William Maitland, in his 'History of Edinburgh,' published in 1753, is quite distinct in his description of the condition of the church. "This stately Fabrick not being regarded, it is in a very ruinous condition, and not likely to be repaired, must, in a few

years become a prey to time and the inclemency of weather."[1] The Duke of Hamilton intervened, and on 20th February 1754 the Barons of Exchequer record a Memorandum received from his Grace, "as Heritable Keeper of His Majesty's Palace, setting forth that it has been represented to him that the Church of His Majesty's Palace is in great danger of falling to the ground if not speedily repaired."[2] The Duke went further, for he suggested how money might be found for the necessary repairs. His proposal was that there should be appropriated for the purpose "part of the vacant stipends of the Church falling under His Majesty's gift." The Exchequer Court ordered that an estimate of the "whole reparation necessary" should be obtained, and voted £7, 10s. a half-year for the purpose from the "vacant stipends." The learned Court, as was its wont, allowed the matter to "whummle about amang the toddy" for four years, and then on the 28th June 1758, considered the "petition of John Douglas, Architect, and James McPherson, Mason in Dean," regarding their estimate for repairing roof and pavement of the Abbey Church at the cost of £1003, 4s. 10½d. The Court got quit of the matter by voting £307, 10s.,[3] so the roof was repaired in a makeshift fashion. But the Abbey Church refused to be excluded from the Exchequer Court in this fashion. On 28th November 1766 a report was received that the roof of the Abbey Church was in danger of falling in, and William Miln, a member of the well-known Scottish family of Master Masons to the Kings of Scotland, was asked to report. It is not known whether Miln's report was ever read. Two years after, the Abbey Church took

[1] P. 153.

[2] Exchequer Register MS., vol. ii. p. 258.

[3] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 130.

the law into its own hands and collapsed. 'The Scots Magazine' of December 1768 reports "that on the 2nd December, about noon, part of the walls and roof of the Church of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse gave way and fell in, and in the night following a great part of the remainder fell in also." For once the Barons of Exchequer acted expeditiously. A week after the accident, the Barons, on the advice of William Miln, ordered the rest of the roof to be removed, "and the two stairs and the top of the towers,"[1] together with "the two bells that are there hanging," to be taken down. The cause of the collapse of the Church was plainly evident to every one. When the church was repaired in 1758, a new roof of stone slabs was laid, without seemingly any consideration being given as to whether the old walls would bear the weight. The walls were very old, being reconstructed by Abbot Crawford as far back as the middle of the fifteenth century, being old then, and the weight of the stone roof crushed the walls into dust.

During these years which saw the ruin of the Abbey Church, Holyrood was visited more than once by one of the greatest Englishmen of the century, John Wesley, during his missionary tours through Scotland. In May 1768, shortly before the roof of the Abbey Church fell in, he tells that—"I walked once more through Holyrood House, a noble piece of building, but the greatest part of it left to itself, and so (like the Palace at Scone) swiftly running to ruin. The tapestry is dirty and quite faded; the fine ceiling dropping down, and many of the pictures in the gallery torn and cut through. This was the work of good General Hawley's soldiers (like General, like men), who, after running away from the Scots at

[1] Exchequer Register, vol. iii. p. 308.

Falkirk, revenged themselves on the harmless canvas!"[1] Wesley must have been deeply affected by this house "of many memories," for he revisited it twelve years after and records its melancholy appearance, "that the stately rooms are dirty as stables," and adds: "the roof of the royal chapel is fallen in, and the bones of James Fifth and the once beautiful Lord Darnley are scattered about like those of sheep and oxen."[2] This profanation of the royal tomb was one of the consequences of the ruin of the chapel, for the roof in falling broke up "the vaults where the bodies of some of the royal family, several of the nobility and a great number of the gentry, were deposited."[3] The vaults of the "nobility and gentry" would be taken in hand by the families and repaired, but the royal vault was not. Hugo Arnot in his 'History of Edinburgh,' which is dated 1779, writes that he lately visited the chapel. "In 1776, we had seen the body of James V. and some others in their leaden coffins. The coffins are now stolen. The head of Queen Magdalene, which was then entire, and even beautiful, and the skull of Darnley were also stolen."[4] It did not come within the jurisdiction of the Barons of Exchequer to look after the skeletons of dead kings and queens, so the bones were left to lie about, as John Wesley saw them, "like those of sheep and oxen." It was the pleasing way of the eighteenth century—it did not much trouble itself with sentiment, and as little as possible with religion. There are two other references to Holyrood Palace at this time which may be quoted. In Arnot's History, the author, who was a member of the Scottish bar, and a well-known though eccentric citizen, makes a

[1] John Wesley's Works, vol. iii. p. 323.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 181.
[3] Scots Magazine, December 1768.
[4] Arnot's History, p. 255.

notable suggestion in his History. He describes the Palace, which he states is fast going to decay, except the Hamilton apartments. He points out that the City of Edinburgh needs a new building for its College, but has no money that it can devote to the purpose; so he advises that the Government should consider the advisability of handing the Palace over "to the Town Council of Edinburgh for the purpose of a College, the buildings to be perpetually kept up at the City's expense."[1] The second reference is to a map of Edinburgh published in 1817, "The plan of the City and its environs by Robert Kirkwood," which is still valuable for reference, as it delineates the areas belonging to each property within the district and the proprietor's name. The Palace and its immediate surroundings, and the whole of Arthur's Seat, are shown on a large scale. The Palace is given as "The Palace and Holyroodhous," the Abbey Church as "Chapel in Ruins"; both the north and south gardens are marked "The Property of the Duke of Hamilton," and the whole of the hill on both sides of the Hunter's Bog is described as "The Property of the Earl of Haddington." The rights of these two noblemen, as respectively Keeper of the Palace and Keeper of the Park, had been made so visible to the citizens that they had forgotten the rights of the Crown to the Royal Palace and Royal Park, and the interest which they themselves should take in them as Scotsmen. Singularly ignoble was the condition of the Palace, both internally and in its surroundings, during the last half of the eighteenth century. Certain rooms in the Palace were kept sealed as being the royal apartments, but these had not been inhabited since the last Royal Commissioner to Parliament had taken his departure in the beginning of 1708; no king or queen

[1] Arnot's History, p. 308.

had ever lived in them. The rest of the Palace was allotted either to those noblemen who, as high officials of the old Scottish Court, had prescriptive right of residence, or to individuals who were supposed to have done service to the country and who received by royal grant the use of suites of rooms. The royal apartments, as John Wesley points out in 1768, was the portion of the Palace least cared for. The surroundings of the Palace fitted well with the condition of the house itself. On both north and south sides of the outer court were dilapidated buildings attached to the Palace. The Abbey Church had, on the north and north-east, the burying-ground of the Canongate Parish, and further west a portion of the old North Palace Garden had been long used as a "Physick Garden," conducted by the Edinburgh Physicians. On the south side of the outer court of the Palace were the royal stables in a dilapidated condition, and between them and Arthur's Seat was what was called St Anne's Yards, a district of small houses and of market gardens which the citizens of Edinburgh frequented in summer time for tea and fruit. Under the east windows of the Palace was a bowling-green open to the public. The Abbey Church was roofless and little cared for, but in it were constantly taking place the burial of members of certain families who claimed right of sepulchre.

But what cast the deepest shadow over the district was the fact that the Palace and its precincts, including the whole Royal Park, was a Sanctuary for debtors, who took refuge there to avoid imprisonment for debt, so that a great portion of the inhabitants were sadly "out at elbows." That the right of Sanctuary arose from the fact that Holyrood was a Royal Palace is shown by the fact that the extent of the Sanctuary corresponded with

the area of the Palace and its park; it was about five miles in circumference. In 1816 the Sanctuary reached its greatest popularity, when it contained 116 of these refugees—they were jokingly termed "The Abbey Lairds."[1] They lived in rooms in the houses at the foot of the Canongate, east of the South Cross, and in those situated in St Anne's Yards; they spent much of their time in the many mean public-houses which polluted the district. Very curious was the internal government of the Sanctuary; it was fixed by innumerable decisions of the Court of Session.[2] The officer nominally in charge of the Sanctuary was the Hereditary Keeper of the Palace, the Duke of Hamilton, but he nominated a Bailie, or bailiff, of Holyrood, who was of necessity a lawyer. This functionary held Courts, and had his office within the Sanctuary; he possessed a jail in which he could shut up his offending subjects. The quaintest touch of all was that a debtor, taking refuge in the Sanctuary, might be imprisoned in the Abbey Jail for debts contracted while in Sanctuary. One ceremony the refugee had to perform—he had to report himself on entry to the Bailie, have his name booked, "and pay fees amounting to two Guineas." The "Abbey Lairds" had one relaxation—they were free men during the twenty-four hours of Sunday, and could wander abroad. Many strange legends cling to the Holyrood Sanctuary. There is the record of the faithful minister of a country parish, whom fate had driven into Sanctuary, who left Holyrood every Sunday morning early so that he might minister to his beloved people, and returned safely before the Canongate clock struck midnight. And there is the thrilling adventure of the "Abbey Laird"

[1] Anderson's Guide, p. 155.

[2] Treatise by Peter Halkerston, LL.D., S.S.C., 1831.

who, "tarrying over the wine-cup" on a Sunday night in a friend's house in Edinburgh, rushed breathless down the Canongate, just before the fateful hour of midnight, pursued by the officers of the law. He reached the Abbey Strand just ahead of his pursuers, but in jumping the gutter which was the boundary, slipped and fell, head and shoulders within, legs out of Sanctuary. The catch-poles pulled him out by the feet and took him prisoner. But the case made a "noble plea," which was decided by the Judges of Session sitting in full court—there were then fifteen Scottish Judges. They decided that, as the respondent's head and shoulders—the principal parts of a man—were within Sanctuary, the arrestment was illegal, and that he was free to return to the jurisdiction of the Hereditary Keeper of the Palace. The memory of the Sanctuary has nearly passed away; its annals are at once grimy and pathetic. Its popularity faded away as the nineteenth century advanced, and the Act abolishing Imprisonment for Debt ended it altogether.

The last years of the eighteenth century introduced a new element into the inhabitants of Holyrood Palace, and once again, as in Queen Mary's time, it became the centre of a French colony. On the 6th January 1796, the Count d'Artois, the heir to the French throne of the old Bourbon dynasty, landed at Leith from His Majesty's frigate *Jason*; was received by Lord Adam Gordon, the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and conducted by him to apartments which had been prepared in haste in Holyrood Palace.[1] The Comte d'Artois was the second brother of the French King, Louis XVI., and had been one of the gayest of the circle which surrounded the beautiful Queen Marie Antoinette. When the Revolution burst on France,

[1] Scots Magazine, vol. 1796, p. 68.

both d'Artois and his elder brother, the Comte de Provance, fled from France and took up residence in Turin. The execution of Louis XVI., and the death of his only son, made the Comte de Provance titular King of France, under the name of Louis XVII.; and as the King was childless, d'Artois became the heir to the French throne, and had the right to the title of "Monsieur" as the King's younger brother. During the early years of the war against the French Republic, d'Artois commanded the army raised from among the French Royalists to fight against the Republic; he was, however, not successful as a soldier, and was involved in debt for supplies for his troops. Towards the end of 1795 he took refuge in England, and appealed for help to the British Cabinet. He was offered the royal suite of rooms in Holyrood Palace and a pension of £6000 a year. "Monsieur" accepted the offer. Holyrood was attractive to him from the fact that it had been the home of Mary Stewart, with whom he might claim kinship, and even more, perhaps, because it was a Sanctuary for debtors, and there he would be safe from his creditors,[1] who had become clamant in their demands. The most notable figure among those who had suites of rooms in the Palace at this time was Lord Adam Gordon, a son of the second Duke of Gordon, the Commander of the Forces in Scotland; to him fell the duty of receiving and entertaining "Monsieur" on his arrival. Lord Adam is represented in 'Kay's Original Portraits'[2] as a tall handsome man of about seventy; he had lived for some years in the Palace, and in it his wife had died in the preceding year. The royal apartments on the south side of the Palace were assigned to the French visitors, but as these were, in the words of a guide-book of the time, "hastening

[1] Exiled Bourbons in Scotland, p. 19. [2] Plate 89.

to decay,"[1] time was required for their repair. In the meanwhile Monsieur became Lord Adam's guest, and when d'Artois' eldest son, the Duc d'Angouleme, arrived a few days later, rooms were found for him in the Earl of Breadalbane's "Lodging." "Monsieur" brought with him a considerable suite, as also did his son; it numbered about 100 eventually; while others of the Royalist French refugees joined the Court, so that there grew up around Holyrood a French colony. D'Artois lived a retired life in the Palace; he was not free to wander beyond "The Sanctuary" except on Sundays, when he could defy his creditors. The Duc d'Angouleme was able to appear in public as he chose, but he was a quiet, unenterprising young man of about twenty-one. The French courtiers and their families took up house in modest dwellings in the Abbey-hill and Canongate. Many of the French émigrés bore names famed in the history of France, but they were none of them rich, and most of them poor.[2] "Monsieur" spent much of his time in the Palace gardens, or walking on Arthur's Seat; he "received" the members of the Scottish nobility, the officers of the army, and the public officials who waited on him, but his entertaining consisted of giving tea to the ladies of his Court. He was present at the election of Scottish peers in the great gallery of Holyrood for the Parliament of 1796. His son, the Duc d'Angouleme, went about more freely, and occasionally visited the theatre. There is an account of the elaborate decoration of the House[3] when he attended it along with the Duchess of Buccleuch, who showed much kindness to the exiles. D'Angouleme is represented for

[1] Stark's Picture of Edinburgh, p. 122.
[2] Exiled Bourbons, p. 31.
[3] Caledonian Mercury, 11th April 1796.

us in Kay's Portraits,[1] and, just as the engraver has sketched the father hanging on the arm of Lord Adam Gordon, so the son, a small man, under average height, and with finely-cut features, is standing beside Roger Aytoun of Inchdairnie, a burly, strong-featured giant of six feet four. Aytoun commanded the 1st Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers—the "True Blues," as they were called—and d'Angouleme delighted to turn out in uniform to see them drilled. Kay, the caricaturist, evidently intended to represent both father and son as feeble men lacking force of character. More animation was thrown into the sober Court at Holyrood when "Monsieur's" other son, the Duc de Berri, came on a visit. He was remembered in the Canongate as a "stout, country-looking, curly-headed, stirring boy"—ugly, but with "go" in him. Instead of the quiet table for whist in the evening, he introduced music, and the members of the colony did a play to amuse "Monsieur." The Court at Holyrood was not specially pious, but it sometimes attended mass in the Roman Catholic Chapel—the only one in Edinburgh—which was situated in the top flat of a timber-fronted "land" in Blackfriars' Wynd. The pew which was used was pointed out to Robert Chambers, as he tells in his 'Traditions of Edinburgh.'[2] Afterwards, Monsieur appointed a private chaplain, and a portion of the Picture Gallery was used as a chapel.[3]

After some time d'Artois was able to make terms with his creditors and become free to move about as he chose, and to pay visits to his friends among the Scottish nobility. In August 1799 Monsieur left Holyrood and went south to London, having before his departure written a very

[1] Plate 240. [2] Vol. i. p. 211.
[3] Exiled Bourbons in Scotland, p. 47.

CROFT-AN-RIGH. House supposed to have been Built by Regent Moray.

cordial letter to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, conveying his thanks to the inhabitants for the "distinguished marks of attention and respect" which he had received.[1] But although he bade farewell in this letter, d'Artois did not give up his connection with Holyrood Palace. The suite of rooms remained in his hands; his servants continued to reside in it, and the members of his suite in the neighbourhood. He returned to the Palace in 1801; next year he again made it his headquarters, paying a round of visits from it, while the Duc de Berri attended the balls given in Edinburgh. As late as 1810 "Monsieur" seems to have spent some time at Holyrood,[2] and for some years after the royal apartments must have been at the disposal of d'Artois, for in January 1815 a report is made to the Barons of Exchequer that the furniture, which had been left under the charge of a domestic of the name of Pollerin, had been "very ill-kept and much neglected." The last of the French domestics left Holyrood in July 1814 after eighteen years of residence.

But it was d'Artois' fate to return to Holyrood. In 1824 his elder brother died, and he ascended the French throne as Charles X. He was not a success as a monarch, and the Revolution of July 1830 drove him and his family from France. Again Charles took refuge in England, and again he accepted Holyrood Palace as a place of residence when it was offered by the Government. The ex-King came north in an Admiralty steam yacht, and landed at Newhaven pier on the 20th October 1830.[3] He was accompanied by his grandson, who was afterwards

[1] Charles Mackie's Holyrood, p. 105.
[2] Exiled Bourbons, pp. 40, 50, 81.
[3] Lockhart's Life, vol. vii. p. 226.

known in this country as the Comte de Chambord, and in a few days there followed the Duc and Duchesse d'Angouleme. The latter resided in a house in Regent Terrace until their rooms in Holyrood were got ready. With the exiled King and his family there came a large suite, composed partly of members of the French Court and partly of the ministers who had conducted the government. The temper of Scotland was not propitious, for the country was in the midst of the reform agitation, and there was strong feeling against the reactionary manner in which Charles X. had conducted the government of France. There were symptoms that popular feeling was against the exiled King, and might result in his being insulted in the streets, when Sir Walter Scott issued a noble appeal to his fellow-citizens calling on them to show respect to Charles's "grey discrowned head," and to give a hospitable reception to all the exiles.[1] The appeal was answered in a generous spirit—all the more so perhaps because it came from Edinburgh's noblest citizen, who was himself broken in health, and as he said in his letter, "leaving his native city never to return as a permanent resident."

Charles X., now a man of considerably over seventy years, settled down in Holyrood Palace, hoping to spend the remnant of his days there, and to be buried in the Abbey Church.[2] His means were more ample than on his former visit, and he was free to pay visits and to indulge along with his son in sport. Unlimited shooting was offered by the surrounding proprietors, and the King rented the house and estate of Baberton for its shooting.[3] Charles walked about Edinburgh, a simple, fine-featured

[1] Edinburgh Courant. [2] Exiled Bourbons, p. 112.
[3] Kay's Portraits, vol. ii. p. 200.

old man, and was a devout worshipper at St Mary's new Roman Catholic Church. His son attended the theatre, where French plays were acted for the sake of the exiled Frenchman. The real head of the French Court at Holyrood was, however, the King's daughter-in-law, the Duchesse d'Angouleme, who was a very handsome and distinguished-looking woman. From her childhood she "had known adversity," for she was the daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and the only survivor of the "Prisoners of the Temple." She devoted her life to the care of the old King, and of her somewhat feeble husband, and to the upbringing of her nephew and niece, the children of the Duc de Berri, the last hope of the direct line of the old Bourbons. Charles was most liberal in his contributions to Edinburgh charities, and very kind to the poor of the Canongate; his liberality and his kindly simple ways won the general goodwill of the citizens.

The old King was not fated to end his days at Holyrood, but was compelled to go forth once more as a wanderer. His successor on the throne of France, Louis Philippe, began to imagine that Charles was too near Paris in his present abode, and made representations to the British Government on the subject. The ex-King, to save himself from being asked to leave the country, intimated that he intended to give up his pleasant place of refuge, and to accept the offer of a home at Ratisbon made to him by the Emperor of Austria. Charles and his household sailed from the Forth for Hamburg on the 18th September 1832. In the morning a deputation from the city, headed by the Lord Provost, waited on the ex-King at the Palace, and presented him with an address expressing the regrets of the citizens at his departure; the French Court then heard mass in St Mary's Church at

Broughton, and drove to Newhaven pier, where they embarked. A great crowd attended to bid the King farewell; the Society of Newhaven Fishermen acted as a guard of honour and controlled the crowd.[1] And so the old King, who had experienced so many of the ups and downs of life, had a friendly "send off" from the Grey City of the North.

The revival of Holyrood Palace began when George IV. paid his visit to his Scottish capital in 1822. No King of Great Britain had been within Holyrood Palace since Charles I. paid his second and most melancholy visit in 1641; the royal visit therefore excited Scotland as a whole, and Edinburgh in particular, in a manner which no event since has equalled. The visit was in all probability undertaken on the suggestion of Sir Walter Scott, and the whole programme of receptions and processions bore testimony to the vivid imagination of the "Wizard of the North," who played the part of "Stage Manager" with wonderful power and imperturbable good humour.[2] King George arrived by sea and landed from his barge on the inner harbour at Leith, on the 15th August 1822; he then proceeded through streets gaily decorated, and crowded as they never had been crowded before, to Holyrood Palace, where certain presentations were made. The King left the Palace and drove to Dalkeith House, where he resided during the fortnight which he spent in Scotland. His host, the Duke of Buccleuch, was then a boy of sixteen. Fourteen days were spent in ceremonials of every description, and Holyrood was used as a starting-point on all occasions when the King visited Edinburgh. The King, however, seems not to have dispensed any hos-

[1] Edinburgh Courant, 1832.

[2] Lockhart's Life, vol. v. p. 192.

pitality in the Palace, his dinner-parties all taking place in Dalkeith House. In Holyrood the King held a Levee, a Court, and a Drawing-room on separate days, and on one of the last days of his stay in Scotland he came to the Palace and spent some time inspecting the building. This visit probably materially helped the subsequent restoration of the Palace, as the King saw for himself the miserable condition of the building.

As far as the restoration of the Palace was concerned, a visit which preceded the King's was probably even more important. About a month before the King arrived, there came to Edinburgh Colonel Stephenson, Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, and presented a letter from the Treasury to the Barons of Exchequer, requesting their lordships to give him every facility for rendering Holyrood fit for the King's visit. The Barons handed Stephenson over to the King's Architect for Scotland, Robert Reid, and the two proceeded to do what was possible in the short time at their disposal. A Throne-room was formed in the royal suite by taking down some partitions, and it was decorated and furnished; the suite of drawing-rooms attached were put in order and hung with tapestry. Outside, a new approach to the Palace was made from Abbeyhill, and the Duke's Walk leading eastward was repaired, and given a direct connection with the Musselburgh road, as the most convenient way to Dalkeith. In all, a little above £4000 was spent on the Palace and its approaches.[1] Shortly after the King's departure from Scotland, Reid forwarded to Colonel Stephenson a report and estimate for further work at Holyrood Palace, "according to instructions which I received from you when on the spot"; at the same time Reid sent a copy of his report

[1] Treasury Minutes, vols. 21 and 22.

to the Barons of Exchequer, and this has been preserved. On the 14th April 1824, the Barons received authority from the Treasury to proceed to carry out Reid's estimate, which amounted to £24,755, but the strange proviso was added that no more that £4000 was to be spent in any one year.[1] Reid's report is a most sensible document. He says, addressing Stephenson: "From what you yourself saw, you will most fully agree that a great and general repair on the Palace is now become altogether indispensable to its preservation." The work was begun as soon as contracts were received and the consent of the Keeper of the Palace obtained, and was continued, one portion after another, until 1831, when Reid handed in his final accounts. The renovation consisted of four parts. The first work undertaken was the pulling down and rebuilding from the foundation of the southern portion of the east wall of the Palace, this involving a new roof for this part. Then the whole Palace was overhauled — roof, floors, windows, wainscotting of rooms, and drains, a large sum being spent on lead work of the roof and turrets of James V.'s Tower. The third portion was the removal of certain old buildings and walls which were attached to the north and south gables of the Palace. The principal of these was the old 16th century house, which is supposed to have been built by Lord Robert Stewart, the first Protestant Commendator of Holyrood. The removal of this house led to important negotiations with the Duke of Hamilton.[2] This house was built against James V.'s Tower, in which were the Duke's apartments, and to give sufficient accommodotion the wall had been pierced and the kitchen and offices for the Keeper's house placed in

[1] Treasury Minutes, 24.
[2] Ibid., No. 23, p. 89.

the Commendator's old mansion. New kitchen quarters for the Keeper were found in the Earl of Dunmore's portion of the Palace, and the removal of the old house proceeded. The difficulty which had arisen led to the rights of the Keeper, under the Royal Grant of 1646, being gone into, and a report on the subject was made by three of the Barons of Exchequer.[1] The fourth part of Reid's report advised that the Royal Stables should be removed from the south side of the Fore-Court and rebuilt on a new site. This work was carried out. The other new building recommended in Reid's report was a new Court House and Jail for the Bailie of Holyrood. This does not seem to have been done, but instead the old Court House was thoroughly overhauled. An improvement not originally intended was taken in hand before the accounts were finally closed: a handsome iron railing was erected on the west side of both North and South Gardens.[2] Gas was also introduced into the lower apartments of the Palace. The improvements were not altogether completed when Charles X. of France took up his residence for the second time in Holyrood in 1830.

Another change was made in 1834 which brought home to Scotland the fact that the Palace of Holyrood was in very truth the property of the Crown. In the May of that year, by authority of the King, William IV., the Commissioner of the King to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland took up his residence, for the first time, in Holyrood, and as representing his Sovereign received and entertained in the Palace. Formerly the Lord High Commissioner had lived in an Edinburgh hotel, or in a private house, and for many years he had been accustomed

[1] Report dated 25th December 1825.
[2] Treasury Minutes, No. 30, p. 102.

to hold his levees in the hall of the Edinburgh Merchant Company. The change is referred to in the "Address of Thanks to the King," passed by the General Assembly of May 1834.[1] "While as Scotsmen we feel gratified in viewing the ancient abode of your Majesty's royal predecessors adorned and enlivened by the temporary residence of your Representative, we desire, as members of the Church of Scotland, to recognise in this arrangement a new proof of your Majesty's considerate regard for the honour of our National Establishment, and an additional pledge of your adherence to that sacred compact which unites the Church to the State."

From this time onward steady progress was made in restoring to Holyrood House the dignity which ought to appertain to a Royal Palace. In 1846, under Act of Parliament, the hereditary keepership of the Royal Park was obtained by purchase from the Earl of Haddington. A few years after, the house of Croft-an-Righ, to the north-east of the Palace, with its grounds, were bought; the house dates from the sixteenth century, and is supposed to have been built by Queen Mary's half-brother, the Earl of Moray. Other pieces of property were acquired, and a clearance was made of "squatters" who cumbered the Royal Park. In recent years also, fresh arrangements were made with the Hereditary Keeper which rendered the House freer for Royal use.

It was, however, in 1850 that Holyrood House was restored in the eyes of Scotsmen to its proper place as a King's Palace by the visit of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. On the 29th August, the Queen, accompanied by the Prince Consort and their four eldest children, took up their residence in Holyrood House for some

[1] Acts of the General Assembly, 1834.

days; and again, in October, on the way south, after a visit to Balmoral Castle, they lived in the House. The connection of the Royal Family with the old home of the Stewarts was made closer by the regular visits of the Queen, and by the residence of the Prince of Wales in 1859, and of Prince Alfred in 1863, when they were carrying on their studies in Edinburgh. Now Holyrood House, in which has been enacted so much of Scottish history, is universally recognised as the King's Palace in Scotland.

A new spirit also has been of late years shown in the treatment of the remains of the old religious House of the Holy Rood. The frail walls which have stood the buffetings of so many centuries are treated with loving and reverend care, and all that skill can do has been done for their preservation. The remains of the old Religious House are being passed on to the generations which are to come, as securely protected against the ravages of time as it is possible to make them. May the old walls long stand to tell the story of Religion in Scotland.

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